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JHU THESIS

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1894

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*The Spanish Dialect*  
*of*  
*Mexico City*  
*by*  
*Charles Canoll Marden*

*Dissertation presented to the Board  
of University Studies of the Johns Hop-  
kins University for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy*

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## Introduction

The material for the present study was collected during a residence of six months in New City, and the facts stated, are the result of personal observation of the idiom spoken by the lower classes. The book, however, is made of words and expressions found in printed material, but all such forms have been subjected to a careful comparison with the spoken language, before being accepted as





trustworthy.

The language under consideration, affords an interesting example of speech mixture: here, we have a combination of the various dialects of Spain, each of which has undergone a still further development since its separation from the mother province. Furthermore, there is a marked French and English influence, especially in regard to the vocabulary. In addition to the elements mentioned, there is the original language of Mexico, which has given (and still continues to give) a strong coloring to the Spanish of the Republic.

In the present study an attempt has been made to show some what individual names



and provinces the Mexican Spanish dialect has drawn its material. We therefore, the writer has desired to show to what extent this material has been modified since its introduction into the New World.

In an historical study of the dialects of France or Italy, we naturally turn to Latin as a starting point; Mexican-Spanish, on the other hand, has a recurring source of origin in the Spanish language of the Spanish Conquistador. There is the language of Spain in the very first part of the sixteenth century, which we take as a starting point, when these dialects.

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The amount of dialect literature in Mexico, is small. It gives



most use of the language of the people, but the only work of this kind which has attained prominence, is 'La Musa Callejera' by Guillermo Prieto. There are, however, quite a number of novels descriptive of life among the lower classes and consequently containing many words and expressions valuable for a study of the dialect. Two of these novels call for special mention: 'Don Quixote del Rio Grande' and 'Periquillo Sarniento'. The latter is one of the best known books in Mexico and is often referred to as the 'Mexican Don Quixote'. Each of the works just mentioned contains a vocabulary of words not found in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.



In addition to poetry and novels  
there are several weekly newspapers  
written in the language of the  
people and published in the City  
of Mexico. These periodicals circulate  
among the people whose  
language they strive to use, though  
a daily the pronunciation of the  
actual language is in the  
faithfully represented in the printed  
pages. Another fact which  
their value for dialect work, is that  
they all have a very short lease of  
life, and the editor of each has  
attempted naturally to make the  
most of his brief existence.  
his predecessor. The reason that these  
periodicals exist for so short a  
time, is that they are all more





or less hostile to the existing govern-  
ment, and other social differences be-  
come less apparent, they are promptly  
suppressed by the city officials.

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The following facts in regard to the  
colonization of Mexico, are important  
for the present study. The period  
of Spanish influence commenced  
with the landing of Cortés in  
1492, and continued until 1821, when  
the City of Mexico was captured by  
the French. From 1821 to 1828,  
when the Mexican Revolution broke out,  
the country was a province  
of Spain; from 1828 to 1830, it was  
an independent republic; and from 1830  
to 1835, it was a province of Mexico.  
From 1835 to 1845, it was an indepen-  
dent republic, and from 1845 to 1848,  
it was a province of Mexico. From 1848  
to 1855, it was an independent republic,  
and from 1855 to 1867, it was a province  
of Mexico. From 1867 to 1876, it was  
an independent republic, and from 1876  
to 1911, it was a province of Mexico.  
From 1911 to 1917, it was an indepen-  
dent republic, and from 1917 to 1935,  
it was a province of Mexico. From 1935  
to 1940, it was an independent republic,  
and from 1940 to 1945, it was a province  
of Mexico. From 1945 to 1952, it was  
an independent republic, and from 1952  
to 1968, it was a province of Mexico.  
From 1968 to 1976, it was an indepen-  
dent republic, and from 1976 to 1982,  
it was a province of Mexico. From 1982  
to 1985, it was an independent republic,  
and from 1985 to 1988, it was a province  
of Mexico. From 1988 to 1991, it was  
an independent republic, and from 1991  
to 1995, it was a province of Mexico.  
From 1995 to 2000, it was an indepen-  
dent republic, and from 2000 to 2006,  
it was a province of Mexico. From 2006  
to 2012, it was an independent republic,  
and from 2012 to 2018, it was a province  
of Mexico. From 2018 to 2021, it was  
an independent republic, and from 2021  
to 2024, it was a province of Mexico.



from eighteen hundred and six - from  
to eighteen hundred and six - then,  
during which Maximilian, Emperor  
of Mexico, was as Emperor, having  
been placed upon the throne by the  
influence of the French.

In the early days, the officials in  
Spain kept a careful record of all  
persons who were permitted to emigrate  
to Mexico. At one time the would-be  
colonist must have a special permit  
from the army, and also a certificate  
from his native district.  
It is to be recalled that these records  
could not be brought together  
in accessible form.

During the War of Independence  
of the period of colonization, unknown  
to those who are the colonists.



Cortés and subsequent leaders assisted in subduing the country, and induced to enjoy the reward of their toil in some encomienda, may be regarded as the founders of the bad and oppressive ~~Spanish~~ <sup>Spanish</sup> institutions which they were, and that of all grades, from hidalgos to artisans, soldiers, and even ~~knights~~ <sup>knights</sup> and drawn chiefly from Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia. In later days the in-wanderers came principally from Aragon, Catalonia, Galicia and the Santander mountains."

The ~~Spanish~~ <sup>Spanish</sup> ~~knights~~ <sup>knights</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~so~~ <sup>so</sup> that even a poor succeeded in obtaining admittance to the country.

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<sup>1</sup>History of Mexico, Vol. III, pp. 112



fact is of importance in one respect; namely, when we find in Mexico a characteristic that is common to both northern and Galicia, we can safely say that if it came into Mexico during the early stages of colonization, it is of Galician origin and did not come directly from Portugal. The necessity for this discrimination will be more apparent if we bear in mind that the language of Galicia is, strictly speaking, a Portuguese dialect, and that Galicia itself is a part of Spain.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the influx of foreigners has steadily increased, and to day, there is in Mexico a large number of French, English, Americans,





German citizens. There represent a respectable class who have engaged in permanent settlement, and whose language has naturally introduced a number of new words into the dialect.

Let me add a few words in conclusion, in regard to the Indian or Nahuatl element introduced into Mexican Spanish. On this subject two valuable works have been written. The first in, so far as I date is by Eugenio Pandoza, entitled, 'Apuntes para un Catálogo racional de las palabras mexicanas introducidas al Castellano'. This work, vol.

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2. Published in the Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística. Mexico, 1872.



The 1<sup>st</sup> implies, is a collection of Indian words "usadas en el castreano lo como se habla en Mexico", and includes a large number of geographical names that have been preserved.

The second implies referred to above, is 'Glosario de voces Castellanas derivadas del Idioma Nahuatl',<sup>3</sup> by Juan Sanchez. This work, though not so extensive as the former is a much more careful compilation; nevertheless, both authors adhere too strictly to the "etymology" of the words<sup>4</sup> and leave much to be desired on account of omissions, especially as to

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3- Published in the Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico, vol. III, Mexico, 1852

4- 'Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana'. Mexico, 1511.



the word sounds.

up to the present time no thought  
was ever made to establish the laws  
which govern the phonetic changes  
in these Indian words on their  
passage into Spanish. In the  
present manuscript this subject  
is treated as a separate chapter,  
since many of the laws governing  
the introduction of these elements are  
distinct from those which obtain  
for words of Romance origin.



Abbreviations.

Altgerm. — Gerner, Das Altgermanische. Eine  
Einführung zur Kenntnis der Alt-  
germanischen Sprache. Berlin, 1877.

Amer. Jour. Phil. — The American Journal of  
Philology. Baltimore, 1881-1893.

Amer. Phil. Ass. — Transactions of the Amer-  
ican Philological Association.  
Hartford, 1871-1892.

Cron e und i. — Fleming, zur Geschichte des  
Lateinischen e und i in der  
Romanischen. Halle, 1873.

C dans Lang. Rom. — Cout, Du C dans les  
Langues Romanes. Paris, 1874.

Comp. Eng. — Compendium of the Comparative  
Grammar of the Indo-Germanic  
Languages. 3 vols. London, 1878-1892.

Quadro Descrittivo — Pimentel, Quadro descrittivo





vo y comparativo de las lenguas  
indigenas de Mexico. 2 vols. Mexico, 1842.

Dial. Cast. - <sup>o</sup> Mugica, Dialectos Castellanos.  
Montañés, vizcaíno, aragones. Primera  
parte: Península. Berlin, 1842.

Eng. Lit. - Encyclopaedia Britannica. 9<sup>th</sup>  
edition

Eng. Phil. - Storm, Englische Philologie.  
Rechtsgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte.  
Leipzig, 1842.

Etym. Forsch. - Pott, Etymologische Forschungen  
auf dem Gebiete der Indo-  
germanischen Sprache. Berlin, 1844.

Gram. des Lang. Rom. - Meyer Lücké, Grammaire  
des Langues Romanes. Traduction  
Française par Eugène Rabié. Vol.  
I, Prolegomenes. Paris, 1840.

Gram. Cast. - Mugica Gramática del Castellano  
Antico. Primera Parte.



Grécia, Berlin, 1891.

Gram. Gal. — Yago-Uel, Gramática Gallega, Lugo, 1868.

Gram. y Vocab. Mex. — Padre Antonio del Hierro, Gramática y Vocabulario Mexicanos. 1595. Reimpreso Mexico, 1865.

Grundriss. — Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie. Band I, Strassburg, 1881.

Gram. Elem. — Goldschmidt, zur Kritik der Altgermanischen Elementen im Spanischen. Leipzig, 1883.

Huasteca. — Brinton, The Huasteca. A Comedy of the Mearagua Spanish dialect. Part of the Series of Aboriginal American Literature, Vol. III. Philadelphia, 1881.

Leng. Bogot. — Cervo, Apuntaciones críticas sobre el Lenguaje Bogotano. Cuarta edición, Chartres, 1885.



Leng. Mex. — Ceballos, Vite de la Lengua Mexi-  
cana, 1524. Reprinted Paris, 1775;  
Mexico, 1814. Reprints are to Paris  
edition.

Mod. Lang. Notes. — Modern Language Notes.  
Baltimore, 1886-1887.

Mus. Nac. — Unas del Museo Nacional  
de Mexico Mexico, 1881-1886.

Rev. Dic. — Novísimo Diccionario de la  
Lengua Castellana. Paris, 1881.

Nomb. Geog. — Penzance, Nombres Geográficos  
de Mexico. Catálogo alfabético de  
los Nombres de Lugar pertenecientes  
al Sistema Nacional. Mexico, 1885.

Ortografía. — Marroquero, Sentados de Ortó-  
grafía y Etimología de la Lengua  
Castellana. Mexico, 1885.

Palab. Mex. — Mendoza, E., Apuntes para  
un Catálogo razonado de



*Las 2 Mexicanas introducidas al  
Castellano. Mexico, 1872.*

Phon. Andal.—Wuif, Un chapitre de Phoné-  
tique andalouse. *Revue de Linguistique*  
Recueil de mémoires, présenté à M. Gaston  
Paris, par ses élèves suadois. Stockholm, 1881.

Poes. Astur.—Colección de poesías en dialecto  
asturiano. Oviedo, 1831.

Port. Gram.—Reinhardtstörkner, Grammatik der  
Portugiesischen Sprache. Strassburg, 1878.

Span. Gramm. Acad.—Vergleichenische der Wiener  
Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Philosophische  
historische Klasse*

Soc. de Ling.—Mémoires de la Société de Linguis-  
tique de Paris. Paris, 1814 1814.

Span. Sprachlehre.—Pöwrtz, R. Spanische Sprach-  
lehre. Berlin, 1886.

Span. Pronunciation.—Kroch, Pronunciation of  
Spanish in Spanish and German.  
Hoboken, 1881.





Tesoro—Zentgraf, Tesoro de voces y Provincialismos Hispano-Americanos.  
Leipzig, 1892.

veas. Arag.—Borac, Diccionario de voces Aragonesas, sucedido de una introducción filológica-histórica. Saragossa, 1851.

veas. Mex.—Molina, Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana. Edición facsimularia.  
Leipzig, 1890.

Wissenschaft. Verein—Mittheilungen des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins. Mexico, 1890.

Wortschöpf.—Michaelis, C., Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung. Leipzig, 1890.

Wort.—Wortbuch zur Romanischen Philologie.  
Halle, 1890.

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Signe used in the Manuscript.

u = u in Cast. mate

z = c in Cast. preceptor.



q = q in Cast. proprio.

i = i in Cast. libro.

Q = o in Cast. ordinario.

o = o in Cast. volero.

u = u in Cast. mucho.

b = b in Eng. ball.

v = v in Cast. varon.

ch = ch in Cast. mucho.

d = d in Eng. door.

d = d in Cast. nablado.

f = f in Cast. faltar.

g = g in Cast. gordo.

h = h in Germ. haben.

x = c in Cast. caro.

x' = palatalized k.

l = l in Cast. luz.

gl = gl in Ital. gli.

m = m in Cast. maio.

n = n in Cast. nada.

ny = ny in Cast. ny.



ñ = n in Cast. ñer.

ŕ = r in Cast. ŕre.

z = r in Cast. cora.

z = rr in Cast. perro.

z = vicious r.

s = s in Cast. saco.

t = t in Cast. tal.

θ = c in Cast. nacer.

w = ou in French oui.

x = f in Cast. fu.

ŕ = r in Cast. ŕre.

z = s in French maison.

s = ch in French changer.

z = y in French changer.

ŕ = i in Cast. ŕre.

z = u in Cast. tuera.



# Phonology

## Accent.

As a general rule, the position of the tonic accent is the same in Moroccan as in Castilian; there are, however, a few special cases that call for comment.

In the first place, in regard to the *righting* *ai*, *ie*, *eo*, *ou*, the rule of accentuation in Spanish law was that of two contiguous vowels, the more sonorous receives the accent.<sup>5</sup> In the dialects we find a re-working of this accent law in regard to vowels which were not con-

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<sup>5</sup> 'Gram. des Lang. Rom.', p. 326; cf. 'Généraliss.', p. 21.





tiguous in Latin, but have been brought together by the fall of an intermediate consonant. In Castilian, such words have retained the accent on the vowel which was tonic in Latin and consequently, on a falling diphthong only when the first vowel of the group corresponds to the Latin tonic vowel.

For example: donarium, donaire, habitus, habitus, habitus, habito.  
On the other hand paginam, pai, audium, oído.

In Mexico there is a re-writing of the old accent law in regard to the class of Castilian words last mentioned, and the stress is moved back to the preceding vowel which is the more sonorous. Hence we



have such words as ôido (Cast. oído),  
páis (Cast. país), vêir (Cast. ver), vâir  
(Cast. vaír); also porê for por ahé,  
diâê for de ahé. A similar change  
of accent takes place in the imper-  
ative of verbs of the second conjuga-  
tion whose stem ends in d: caêr  
, kâêr, kâêrê, trâêr, trâêrê.

In American Spanish  
this caêr has been established for  
Bogotá<sup>1</sup> and Chile<sup>2</sup>, and Leng re-  
marks in regard to this phenomenon:  
"Aus allen spanischen Ländern Süd-  
amerikas liegen mir bezeugt vor, dass  
ausgesprochen wie páis, ôido, vâir,

<sup>1</sup> cf. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Leng. Bogotá, § 92, cf. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Das Spanische 2. Aufl. 1881, S. 100.



óide, nicht nur im niederen volke,  
sondern auch unter den gebildeten  
gebräuchlich sind."<sup>9</sup> In Mexico, however,  
this change of accent has not taken  
place in the speech of the  
educated classes.

In dáka < da acá, we have a  
case of mistaken etymology where  
the change of accent is due to a  
misinterpretation of the word, which  
would regularly give an imperative  
dáca. This imperative form is of  
frequent use in Spain and Ma-  
gica mentions it particularly in  
connection with the dialect of  
Santander.<sup>10</sup> There can be no doubt

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9- Phon. Stud., II, p. 258.

10- Dial. Lect., p. 11.



that the change of accent is due to a supposed infinitive dacar, since déque, as an imperative, is used by Lope de Vega:

"Reque presto, ó mataréla"

(Los Locos de Valencia, Acto I, esc. III.)"

Furthermore, in Luito we find a redundant form dáca aca.<sup>11</sup>

### Dissimilation:

When of two consecutive syllables of a word, both contain the vowel e, the vowel of the first syllable <sup>(if tonic)</sup> is changed to i by dissimilation:

visitae & visitar, principal, principal,  
Trinidad & Trinitá, invitar, entete,  
scribie & scribit, medicin & medicina.

---

11- Leng. Beget., p. 131.

12- Vikimoshes. Ubir. Urad., vol. 22, p. 25.





Assimilation of *l* to *ll* common in  
Old Spanish,<sup>13</sup> and the law is, particu-  
larly striking in the North Spanish  
provinces of Vizcaya<sup>14</sup> and Aragon.<sup>15</sup>

### Metathesis:

Metathesis does not appear to be so  
frequent in Mexico as it is in  
the other districts of Spain and  
America. The cases noted are.

*temprado* for *pecho* & *piele*, *permeo* & *pe-*  
*meo*, *Setenil* & *Seatenil*,

*trovels*: *nadie* & *naiden*, *ciudad* &  
*suída*.

by the same process, *note* occurs for

---

13 - 'Grundriss', I, p. 710, § 33.

14 - 'Lal. Cast.', p. 2.

15 - *Ibid.*, p. 15.



Santander, Vizcaya and Uraguay; pu-  
mir and Grat in 'Vizcaya'. Hence  
owing to the rare occurrence of me-  
tathesis. I may be my suppose  
the words to be introduced from  
North Spain.

The form suda is used even by  
educated classes in Mexico and is  
also occasionally heard in Chile and  
Peru."

Nardi is the popular Spanish form,  
and Chorro states that it is found  
in the mountains of Santa Marta.

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Real. Hist.' p. 5, 5, 76.

- Ibid., p. 43. Schuchardt mentions the  
form Grat as current in Popular Latin.

'Vokalismus', III, 5. cf. 'Lang. Begeh.', p. 448.

18. Proc. Stud., II, p. 272.



no. 1312.

### Prosthesis:

Unt. a few cases of prosthesis in  
figurate, apiculate. fusilar, apicilar, se  
gun & asigun.

In Mexico we also have pronounced the  
solenoid prefix as which is  
strengthened to rete - : reyene (ullene),  
reyene reyene reyene.

The prefix ete occurs also  
in 1312.

### Epenthesis:

In addition to the phenomena of  
ete, mentioned above, the following  
cases of epenthesis occur: aigex (laix),

---

19 'Ling. Bege.', p. 494, note 3. We find it  
in the Mexican form, cf. p. 148.

20 'Ling. Bege.'



naiga (haya), munchi (mucha), ansina  
etc. (see also the ...).

The explanation of the g in aigne, cf.  
remarks on Palatal's 2114; naiga is  
by analogy to forms like tracá, cai-  
ga, etc.; the g occurs in all forms  
of the ...  
munchi and ansina<sup>21</sup> represent the  
preservation of Old Spanish and ...  
lambel represents the regular Galician  
form which has preserved the original  
Latin b.<sup>22</sup>

### Epithesis:

an s is added to the ...  
singular of all the ... quites.

---

21 The explanation, cf. Nasale, p. 143.

22 - Gram. Gal. pp. 34, 44, etc.





gualle, mandale, manale, etc.

Pis (piral'j'pü) forms a double plural  
pisas, nadie, naiden, red & rote,  
asi & ansina.<sup>23</sup>

### Prothesis:

The most common case of prothesis is  
the dropping of initial a in  
verbs of more than two syllables:

atrasado & trasado, apikese & pike,  
asistido & sistido, avanzar & vanzar,  
anogar & ogar. Man amia & ma & ma  
maca & maka.

Initial a of Usted (Usted) always  
falls when preceded by a word end-  
ing in a: a Usted & aské, man-  
da Usted?, mandaské?.

Other cases of the fall of initial

---

<sup>23</sup> An explanation of all these cases is given in the  
and Epithesis will be found in the treatment of the in-  
dividual cases in the Appendix.



vowel are:

e: helados, laes

i: ilustre, instr-

o: oote, cote

Initial d does not occur in orde (don  
de), and espasio (despacio).

Initial syllable yalls, in:

conversar > ferwar

conversacion, terwasion

" > ta, están > tan, etc.

estancia > tanke

The forms tā (estā), tān (estān), etc., are  
used only when the verb is followed  
by a predicate. For example, tā wene  
(estā bueno) but hēreje (ahē estā).

24. Word used by vendors of water etc. The  
ae does not > āu in this word since being  
a short-cry, with elements as distinctly pronounced  
as it is possible.



The reason for this is that when a prede-  
cate follows, the verb is in an unac-  
cented position in the stress group and  
consequently the unaccented syllable  
falls more readily. Compare in French,  
J'ai vu elles, tu m'as elles, a-t-on les.

In Guajaco, only the contracted forms  
la' tón, etc., exist.<sup>25</sup>

### Syncope

The most common case of syncope is  
the fall of d between a a and

a-o: curado > kurao > kuráir

pelado > pelao > peláir

nada > naa > na

Medial a falls in, para > paa > pa.

u. amiga > auk

a. estauria > whuna



Epocope:

The two most important cases of epocope are the fall of final s before a word beginning with l, r or a sibilant, and the fall of final l

dos rales & de rales

mas rice & ma riko

mas large & ma large

Also tuena neches & wena neches

verdad & verda

ciudad & ciuda

ushe & ushe

In regard to the fall of a final vowel before a word beginning with a vowel, no fixed rule can be given, since custom varies with the individual, and the kinds of conversation engaged in. In rapid conversation





otherwise elision is naturally more frequent than in careful conversation.

Serial a generally falls before initial a of a following word, and que falls before que of a following word: esta amante & esta mante, este era & estera, &c.



# Sonic

## Sonic Lowest<sup>26</sup>

Sonic a.

Sonic a, free or checked generally remains as in Castilian:

mate, poxa (poja) calps (calpe) al  
to, etc.

When tonic a is followed by the group of consonants ct, the c falls, leaving behind an epenthetic i which forms a falling diphthong with the a. For example: acto, aito, carácter, carácter, carácter, carácter.

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26- The basis used for Castilian pronunciation is the text transcribed by Murray in Phon. Stud., II, pp. 35-62, 129-1, 257-273. cf. note to p. 37.



The phenomenon is exactly the same as that of Latin act > ait in French, factum > fait, etc. A complete discussion of the change and the ext. & of the phenomenon in the Spanish dialects, will be found under the treatment of fractio, p. 100.

In traje for castilian traje we have a preservation of the Old Spanish popular form. The traj root probably goes back to an analogous traj in Latin, but in traxi instead of trahere, and here we have the same stages of development as in habui which > hauē, habe, hube. Indeed the intermediate stage traje is found in Old Spanish.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Span. fractio, p. 100.



Cuasi (casi) though seldom used in  
Castilian is frequent in Spanish  
Spanish poem.

Tonic ç.<sup>28</sup>

Tonic ç occurs in the Castilian:  
under Spanish Spanish.

Tonic ç.

Tonic ç generally remains as in Castil-  
ian: cuenta (cuenta), ben (ben), el,  
comer (comer), etc.

In words of Indian origin, where Tonic  
ç has become final through the loss

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28- My conclusions in regard to the pronunciation  
of ç and c, are based on personal observa-  
tion of the Spaniards in Mexico. Brajio's  
statements concerning these two vowels are far  
from satisfactory. Consequently, I have followed  
my own observation as a basis, noting, however, the  
cases where Brajio's character seems marked from my own.





in a following consonant, the e retains its open sound. Pepocotepetl, Pepocotepetl, Theracotepetl.

The same is true of the English word kept, which passes through a series of transformations.

Let us remark that it is a general rule in Chile to pronounce close e (ɛ) after the following consonants, for example, mujer, gente.<sup>29</sup> This is not the case in Mexico.

When tonic e is followed by the group of consonants et, the e falls behind an epenthetic i; the e becomes i and the t falls together with the following i: epente, repite, repite, etc.

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<sup>29</sup> Chile.



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This epenthetic i has the same place-  
tion as that developed after t and c  
in the same position.

ɛ & i in tráiz, káiz out of context  
can traír, caír.

Here we have in the first place a  
change of accent to the more sonorous  
vowel,<sup>30</sup> followed by a wearing away  
of the i in tráiz & káiz in the position  
of the i in tráir & caír.

traír > tráir > tráiz.

caír > káir > káiz.

Long remarks that in Chile, tonic  
ae & ai, but áe (that is, tonic ae) re-  
mains. But in tráir & caír the i is  
lost.<sup>31</sup>

30 - For change of accent, cf. pp. 1-2

31 Phon. Stud., 12, 320.



## Sonic i.

Sonic i remains and keeps the Castil.  
son pronunciation of son & sin. sona (cima), guito, etc.

Mexico for Castilian mesmo, shows  
a regularly developed e which is  
retained in the old Spanish, me  
mesmo.<sup>32</sup> In the dialects of Spain  
it is found in mesa, mesa, mesa,  
noted for mesa, mesa,<sup>33</sup> and  
Spanish America it is found  
in Guatemala<sup>34</sup> and the Argentine  
Republic<sup>35</sup>

## Sonic e.

Sonic e remains as in Castile:

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32- Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 125; Indicis, I, p. 616.

33- Ibidem, p. 125.

34- Rev. de Ling., 1900, 1901, p. 10.

35- Soc. de Ling., II, p. 51.



soa, matamônio (matrimonio) etc.<sup>36</sup>

Tonic e.

Tonic e remains as in Castilian:  
erter, ê (hay), etc.

In pos (Castilian pos) we have a  
variation by the loss of the p in some  
cases and u in others. Compare  
position in the stus group. Compare  
the Old French doubts car and quer.

The form sos occurs in Andalusia,<sup>37</sup> Astu-  
ria,<sup>38</sup> and Santander.<sup>39</sup> Pus, which is  
a Bogotá and occasionally in  
Andalusia and Santander, is ex-

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4 - cf. note to tonic e, p. 37.

37 - Gls., I, p. 314.

38 - Ibid., p. 304. Add to the bibliography here  
cited by Schachtel, 'El Evangelio segun San Mateo tra-  
ducido al Dialecto Asturiano', where pos occurs, pp. 15, 20, 30, etc.

39 - 'Dial. Cast.' I, p. 1.





stained by Schuchardt as a further development of sues.<sup>40</sup>

Tonic u.

Tonic u remains with the Castilian pronunciation of u: pure, delite, cu-  
to, etc.

Tonic ie.

In the stem accented forms of que-  
re there is non-orthogonization of  
the tonic e, hence we have such  
forms as here for quiere, hes for  
quiere stem for quiere etc.

The same phenomenon occurs in Spanish  
in regard to the verb querer, hence  
we may suppose the Mexican form  
to be of Spanish origin.<sup>41</sup>

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40- gh, V, p. 304.

41- Span. Dict., p.



When the diphthong ie is preceded by n, the i of the diphthong is absorbed by the n which in turn becomes n mouillé (ñ); that is, nie > ñe: nieve > ñe, nieta > ñe, etc.

ie > i in dis (< Cast. diez) when used in combination with other numerals; for example, diez y cinco < diez y ocho, diez mil pesos < diez mil pesos.

The only other place where the same phenomenon seems to occur is in Chile, and here the result is not confined to diez used in combination with other numerals, but diez > dis in all cases; other examples of the phenomenon are miedo > mis, quien > kin.

See also diez > dis.



for Chile, remarks: "Ment seule avec  
deutliche neigung neuer, bei il den  
accent zu beschreiben, ohne dass es  
nur diese yodungen wäre bestimmt  
bedingungen dafür zu finden"<sup>42</sup>

the most necessary, in part a change  
of accent from il to le before the  
reduction took place. In fact long  
remarks. It would be allgemein  
die Betonung des span. il, el fast  
zu sehen, wenn man auch  
sinen nordspanier, er war glaube ich,  
aus jenseits, geht zu haben, der  
immer cuerpo, tiempo, tierra, etc. le  
tente.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note in  
connection with the length before il

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42- Proc. Stud., II, p. 292.

43- Ibid., II, p. 293.



of the phenomenon, that the reduction of  
ie to i and ue to u was of frequent  
occurrence in Old French.<sup>44</sup> In *Beauvais*  
we find an occasional reduction  
of ue to u but no evidence of  
i.<sup>45</sup>

### Tonic ue.

Tonic ue & ie in the stem accented  
forms of the verb *prae*, for example,  
*prae*, *prae*, *prae*, *prae*, *prae*,  
*prae*.

This change is physiological; the u of  
the diphthong ue is semi-consonantal  
and consequently has a more marked  
form than *ue*. The preceding consonantal combination

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44- 'Ultion', pp. 23, 24.

45 *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 55





is labial (p) + dental (t), and as these two consonants must be pronounced with a single expiratory current, the tongue must necessarily be kept in t-position while the lips are in p-position. Now e of the diphthong ae is much nearer the e position than the labial a, hence the a falls and we have pre instead of put. In slow words, as in Latin, of least action, labial p + dental (t) + labial (a) + approximate dental position (e) is reduced to labial p + dental (t) + dental position (e). There is furthermore a reaction of the prefix puta, putare, etc., upon the infinitives and other ending-accented forms which by analogy become putare, pretames, putatis, etc.



The change of ue to e is in-  
teresting in connection with the modern  
condition of guete & sober guete. This  
problem should really have been pre-  
sented, which form actually exists in  
Old Spanish. The change to modern  
guete is the same phenomenon as  
that just described for Mexico and it  
is interesting to note the same  
mark concerning this and similar words:  
"En Espagn. ue est réduit à e sans  
que la loi de cette réduction ait en-  
core pu être formulée"<sup>46</sup>



## Utonic Vowels

The subtonic vowels or those bearing the secondary accent, - will be treated as atonics since the history is the same in both cases. Consequently when the term 'utonic' is used, it is intended to include the atonic as well as the utonic vowels which ~~shall be~~ bear accent.

### Utonic a.

Utonic a generally remains as in Castilian; ama<sub>2</sub>, tiada<sub>2</sub>, kaba<sub>2</sub>, (caballe).

When, utonic a is followed by the palatal groups et or ee<sup>11</sup>, the a is

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47- ee occurs only before e, i, since among the educated of Mexico, ee = es. cf. Dental p. 78.



leaving behind one gentle é, which  
gives a falling inflection on the é, as in  
gentle & gentle, action & action, acción, acción,  
acción & acción, acción, acción.

The history of this phenomenon is the  
same as that of some a before the  
group et.

The é is followed by a u, as in  
ahogar, maka & hamaea, etc., cf.  
Aphorism, p. 30.

Portuguese a remains as in Castil-  
ian. mala, trabaxar, etc.

Portuguese é.

Portuguese é generally remains as in  
Castilian: pelados, pelados, me-  
sencio, mesencio, glicet, glicet,  
tar.

Portuguese é followed by a, e, u, regular-  
ly becomes é. Christo.





tonic or atonic, also when the ç is  
final before a word beginning with  
a vowel:

co & co: por, por, honra, honra.

ca & ca: cal, cal, mar, mar.

cu & cu: duda, duda.

Final ç + a: de aquel, di quel.

Final ç + e: de otro, di otro.

Final ç + u: de nule, di nule.

This change of ç to i before a, e, occurs  
in Andalusia,<sup>48</sup> and in America it is  
found in Buenos Aires<sup>49</sup>, Uruguay,  
Argentine Republic<sup>50</sup> and Bogota.<sup>51</sup>

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48- Sp., I, p. 311.

49- Soc. de Ling., II, p. 54.

50- Mod. Lang. Notes, III, p. 23.

51- Ling. Bogota, p. 23.



for none of these countries do we find  
e as in Mexico.

In early Portuguese, the pronoun *me*,  
*mi* began to shift, hence poems like  
*mî-c*, *mî-a*.<sup>51</sup>

Gaston Paris, in his review of Cuervo's  
work on the Bocotá dialect, remarks:

"Dans les groupes *ea*, *ee*, *ê*, passe ja-  
cilement à *ê*, c'est un fait bien  
connu."<sup>52</sup> From this passage we might

infer that the phenomenon is common  
all over Spain. In fact, I have  
found isolated cases in the North  
Spanish dialects treated by Menjívar,  
but the author nowhere mentions it.

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51- 'Port. Gram.' p. 252.

52- *Romania*, 20, p. 11.



is a general characteristic.

At all events, the pronunciation is natural one. The difference is in the accent and consequently more or less insubstantial. Now the difference between e and i is so slight that a confusion of the two was common in old Spanish and in modern Spanish. Castilian words of mi-sacant cursing; as, cuas & cuais.<sup>53</sup>

Portuguese e & i in siñor & siñor.

Schuchardt in considering the occurrence in Andalusia of such pronunciation remarks: "Wie i zur unbetonten e als Schwächung aufzufassen würde ich nicht."<sup>54</sup> While little mention

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<sup>53</sup> 'sans, des sans Noms.'

<sup>54</sup> JK, II.



similar imprecision of e & i in Latin  
Bozota and Buzotylus, and for e & i

in Alexandro'.<sup>54</sup> The examples cited by  
Mugica admit of no classification, yet  
he attributes them all to the influence  
of the Leon dialect.<sup>55</sup>

Since it is evident that no satisfactory  
explanation can be offered until a  
more careful study "has been made of  
the Spanish dialects.

Utonic &

Utonic & Utonic are in Latin  
ian; for example, superior, español,  
deputado (desempleado), etc.

When pretonic & is followed by the

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<sup>54</sup> See 'Ling. Hist. pp.

<sup>55</sup> See 'Ling. Hist. pp.





palatal groups et or ee, the e leaving behind an epenthetic i. The e at the same time becomes e and gives a falling diphthong with the i<sup>56</sup>:

rectitud & rectit*u*e, rector & rect*u*r*e*,  
ecce, ecce*u*r*e*, etc.

Posttonic e generally remain as in Castilian; for example, kém*e*r, coment  
éixer, bernánd*e*r, etc.

Verbs of the second conjugation, whose stem ends in a, regularly change the tonic accent to the stem vowel a and the infinitive ending to -ir:

ca*u*r & káur, káur*i*r  
trá*a*r & tráur, tráur*i*r<sup>57</sup>

The same change of e to i takes

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56-For territory covered by the phenomenon, cf. dictat*u*r p. 120

57-Of change of accent, pp.



place in all other forms of these roots  
where the ē does not bear the tonic  
accent; for example, caē 'kāi', tracur  
trāin, tracur - trāind.

The change of ē to ē in the infinitive  
forms seems to occur only in Mexico,  
but the change of ae to ai in the  
imperative form, is found  
in Astoria;<sup>58</sup> Andalusia,<sup>59</sup> Galicia,<sup>59</sup> Bogota,<sup>60</sup>  
Buenos Ayres<sup>61</sup> and Chile.<sup>62</sup> Thus  
it is evident that the phenomenon  
is not confined to any special locality  
other of Spain or America.

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<sup>58</sup> Jts., I, p. 313.

<sup>59</sup> Gram. Gal., p. 248, § 254.

<sup>60</sup> Diál. Cañ., p. 46.

<sup>61</sup> Sec. de Lina., II, p. 34.

<sup>62</sup> Phon. Stud., II,







uidia

Latin i e, by dissimilation, in words which have i occurring in immediately succeeding syllables. The change takes place whether the sound i is tonic or atonic: dirine, dytine, medicina, medysina, visitar, dy-sitar.

As the Latin i before e and o changes in the Old Spanish period, we find in the earliest monuments such forms as dirine, dytine.<sup>64</sup>

Latin i before e and o changes in the Old Spanish period, we find in the earliest monuments such forms as dirine, dytine.

63- The form uidia is used also by the educated in Mexico.

64 The extent of occurrence in Modern Spanish, cf. p. 27.





Exceptions:

When ia, io are preceded by n, the i is absorbed by the n, which in its turn becomes ñ, hence nia, nio, ñia, ñio: Antonia & Antonia, matrimonio & matrimonio, etc.

In naiden & nadie we may possibly have to deal with an example of attraction, as suggested by Schuchardt in speaking of the form nadie, which occurs in Andalus<sup>65</sup> and Galicia<sup>66</sup>. The unsymmetrical character of the word, however, makes the question a difficult one.<sup>67</sup>

Utonic o.

Utonic o remains as in

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<sup>65</sup> *J.H.*, I, p. 310.

<sup>66</sup> *Gram. Gal.*, p. 61. cf. *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I.

<sup>67</sup> For final o in the *romance* form, cf. *romance*, p. 148.



in the words sema and puta the  
posttonic e is e, hence we have sema  
puta. The e in these cases is  
in hiatus with tonic e and is  
naturally raised from e to u.

Posttonic e remains as in Castilian.  
for example, muco, trabaxe, timu

When posttonic e is contiguous to  
tonic a through fall of medial d,  
the resulting ae is ai by the natural  
sliding over of e — a fall

diphthong; for example, pelado is  
pelao or pelau, chingado or cingao or  
cingau.

The same phenomenon occurs in Chile.<sup>19</sup>

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68- Same applied to the lowest class of vowels.

19 Inor. Stud. 27: 232-3



Utonic e.

Utonic e remains as in Castilian; for example, ordinario, continuo, embudo (nombrecito).

Posttonic e does not occur in Mexican Spanish.

Utonic u.

Utonic u remains as in Castilian; for example, luz, culo (bottom).

Posttonic u remains as in Castilian; for example, discipulo (disciple), espectaculo (spectacle).



# Consonants

## Labials

### Pronunciation

The b and v in Mexico, as in Castilian, have the sound of bilabial plosive and are not distinguishable

the following passage, extends this bilabial pronunciation to the whole of Spanish America.

"No damos regla alguna que se refiera al origen latino de las voces, ni admitimos como algunos autores, que la pronunciacion puede servir de norma para distinguir y en su oportuna mente la c, la s, la z, la b y la v para





en la America Española. Es uno  
mismo sonido que se da a las  
tres primeras y uno también que se  
da á las dos últimas."<sup>10</sup>

An exception must, however, be made in  
the above statement in the case  
of Cuba<sup>11</sup> and the Guayaquil Islands<sup>12</sup>  
where v has in all cases supplanted  
the u and is a bilabial explosive  
in character.

Stenbelder in speaking of the Mexi-  
can pronunciation, remarks: "Eine andere  
Quelle von Fehlen in die Rechtschreibung  
ist die besondere weiche Aussprache des  
B welcher wie I (W) klingt."

11. 'Ortología', p. III.

11. 'Wörterb.' p. III.

12. Amer. Phil. Ass., I, p. 151.



Lage (troun, dü mil) zu last (Stos oder  
Stöß).<sup>12</sup>

The p and j have retained the Casti-  
lian pronunciation.

L Initials

Initial t, v have remained as in  
Castilian with the pronunciation t!  
tarba (Carba), toba (Bo), balca  
Wasser, Baum, Stamm

Consonants

Initial t, v before the diphthong ue,  
have disappeared entirely in pro-  
nunciation:

tuen & wuen

ue & ue

ruela & wela

rueta & welta



Remembering that the diphthong ue is a falling one (ue) and that the u is consequently semi-consonantal (u), the disappearance of the labial b is a natural phenomenon due to assimilation of the b to the following u. The only difference between t and u is that the u is slightly opened for the i, while the friction is more marked in the t; hence are the u and t the same, the t gives a pure bilabial plosive consonant to a semi-vowel u; thus, for example, cuerno > tuerno > uerno > uerno. Long mentions the same phenomenon for Chile<sup>14</sup>

This change of t to u is exactly



the same as that which takes place  
in Old French, for Latin words  
ending in -vum before a word  
beginning with a vowel; for ex-  
ample, clarum + ut = clayus > clou  
Here the u of -vum is made  
semi-consonantal by the presence  
of the initial vowel of the follow-  
ing word and thus that u exerts  
an assimilating influence on the  
preceding -i which was deletion  
in Latin. <sup>75</sup>

Another development of initial t in  
often takes place in our dialect though  
it is a characteristic of the rural  
districts rather than of Mexico City.  
I refer to the change of trecento to





one:

trunc, giunc

truy, giuy

mells, giells

The phenomenon is well attested  
among the common people of Spain;<sup>12</sup>  
the extent of its occurrence in America  
is not yet determined, but we know  
it exists in Buenos Ayres,<sup>13</sup> Bogotá,<sup>14</sup> and  
also in the rural districts of Mex-  
ico.<sup>15</sup> 79

This giu is simply a further de-  
velopment of we mentioned above,  
for example, trunc & giunc, truy &

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12 'Gundris', I, p. 712.

13 'Loc. de Leng.', II, p. 81.

14 'Leng. Bogot.', p. 413.

15 'Mod. Leng. Mex.', III, p. 23.



glüene. That is, say the glüene is  
underwent exactly the same change  
as glüene and glüene in which be-  
came gu in Castilian. Goldschmidt  
remarks on this subject:  
wäre in einer mittel- oder neuhochdeutschen  
gu geworden ist und zwar meist in  
schlaffen, dann in abgeschwächtem  
wort zur seite steht, z. b. vastare &  
quastare, wulpe & wulpe (z. b. wulpe &  
wulpe) und so könnte man wohl an  
eine „deutsche schattierung von worte“ glau  
en. Aber man bedenke, dass sich dieser  
wandel auch in worten finden, wo  
das glüene glüene glüene glüene glüene und  
dass in sich spontane auch nach auf-  
nahme des glüene glüene glüene glüene  
hat... So wird eine schattierung,  
jedes glüene (gleichzeitig ab glüene...



secundiar) 7 ga. tonus 7 tuus, quies,  
sp. rustulo 7 astur, quies, sp. huus 7  
astur, quies.<sup>10</sup>

Meyl-Lübke mentions a similar change  
for Italian: "v devant c, a peut être  
ou bien tombée ou devenue ga, g en  
passant par d."

Initial f.

Initial f remains as in Castilian;  
see examples, per, pena, punta etc.

Initial g.

In Castilian the Latin initial g  
became h which continued aspirate  
till late in the sixteenth century.  
The only exception to the rule was  
before 'ue, ui' where Latin g remained

10. 'Gram. Germ.', p. 5.

11. 'Gram. des Lang. Rom.', § 443, p. 157.



from the Galician or Asturian  
dialects.

In Mexico, however, even the  
purest Galician is not  
the same. In Galician, the *h* is  
while in all other cases the *h* has  
become silent as in Spanish. This  
is not the case.

In the Mexican *h* is not  
discriminated from the Spanish  
*h* as it is not a guttural *h* as  
in Spanish.

Examples of *que*, *que*, and *huc*, *huc*:

*que*, *que*

*que*, *que*

My transcription is *que*.





que, i huc  
que, i huc

The same change is common to the  
Galicia, East Asturia, Estremadura, Savoy  
du,<sup>82</sup> and in Spanish America the  
phenomenon is wide spread even in  
cluding Porto Rico.<sup>83</sup>

Schuchardt after a careful study of  
the Andalusian dialect, concludes that  
though *f* is generally used to repre-  
sent the *schwa* developed from *h*,  
yet this sound is similar to  
aspirate *h* (like *h* of the German *haken*)  
and Storm reaches the same conclusion  
in regard to the Spanish of Port.  
Rico.<sup>83</sup>

82 'Dial. Cast.' p. 13.

83- *Romana*, I, p. 179. Cf. *ibid.*, I, pp. 200, 201.











of the last element -tundo with  
monosyllabic termination. "Tundo"  
or "tundo" is so commonly applied  
to the cacarets.

The word lambie (not lambie), calls  
for explanation. The Castilian form  
is lance, but lambie occurs in  
Portugal<sup>10</sup>, Galicia<sup>11</sup> and Santander<sup>12</sup>  
since we may suppose that the word  
came to Mexico from one of the  
above Spanish provinces as a  
survival of the Old Spanish form.  
The Castilian form is lance  
from lambie in Bocca<sup>13</sup>.

Medial p and f remain as in Cast.

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10. 'Gram. Val.', pp. 34, 44, 111.

11. 'Dial. Cast.', p. 13.

12. 'Lang. Rom.', p. 111.





ian; for example, capa, cupa, xye  
to graye.

III. Final

The letter z is not pronounced in Mexican or Castilian. The only exception is klutz & English slut.

IV. Combinations of labial & cons.

b & cons.

Cravio remarks that b is not pronounced in Castilian in the combinations subst-  
anti subsc-; for example, substancia,  
substantia, subscriptum, subscriptura.

In Mexico & by the Port of the Port in  
all cases where it is followed by a  
consonant except i:

substancia & sustancia

subscriptum & suscribirse

subterranee & subterranee

submarino & submarino



subdiacore & subdiakore.

The same rule holds good for the prefix ob which however rarely occurs

obscure & oscurar.

obscure & oscurar.

obtine & otine.

24 cons.

The combinations pt, ps and psps occur in Castilian only in learned or borrowed words; in all other cases the p has fallen. In Mexico, however, these learned or borrowed words have undergone the same reduction as original Latin words having the same combination of consonants. It must however be noted that when the preceding vowel is e (which is often in Castilian before pt) it becomes



close the Memor.

except - excepta, exceptio - exceptio  
eclipse & etilis, corruptio & corruption  
proscriptio & proscriptio?

Terms like acute (acutus), consulate (consulatus),  
occur occasionally and are probably in-  
troduced from North Spain?

In causa & capsula we have exactly  
the same development that has taken  
place in Castilian causa, causa  
sa, etc.

### Dentals

I. Initial

Initial t and s remain unchanged, that  
is, they keep their Castilian, p-

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78. c + c, c - s cf. Dentals, p 78

91. Dent., causa?



ido, satto etc.

Inda. d does not occur in ende  
(dende). This word is a survival of the  
Old Spanish (come to Latin inde) and  
has been preserved in several of the  
Spanish dialects; for example, in those  
of Santander,<sup>92</sup> Vizcaya,<sup>93</sup> and Malaga.<sup>94</sup>  
Cruce also mentions ende as being  
the current form in Basque.<sup>95</sup>

With quite a number of people in  
Mexico there is a tendency to drop  
the initial d in the initial in  
some syllable, and in sachotes in  
some parts of Mexico.

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92 'Dial. Cast.' p. 13.

93 ibid., p. 17.

94 Ibid., p. 12.

95 Ibid., p. 13.





as estuir (disturb), escurrir (to wash)  
& escurrir.

The same tendency is especially strong  
in "Catalan" and is due to the charac-  
teristically weak pronunciation of d  
which gives the es a very weak sound,  
easily lost. Isolated cases may be  
found in the various Spanish-  
speaking provinces; for example,  
es is the common form in Andalusia  
for des; es que in Bogota  
has become es que, and in Venezuela  
still further reduced to e que.<sup>91</sup>

Initial c before e, i, and z before a, o,  
have the sound of pure dental s in  
Catalan s:

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90- 'Dial. Catal.', p. 12.

91- 'Lang. Bogota', p. 324.



ena (ena), sicla (icla), sapata (epa  
ta, are, pa) etc.

The pronunciation of ce, se, and ze in Spain before the eighteenth century, is one of the unsettled questions of Spanish phonetics. It is however generally supposed that z represented a voiced s (z), and ç indicated a voiceless s though the symbols are frequently found confused in the same word. In the mss. of the Old Spanish ç is often found for z, but Waist has shown that this ç was simply another form for writing z and had the voiced quality of the latter.

18 - The modern discrimination which requires c before e and z was made by the Spanish Academy only at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

19 - Libro de la Ceca, v. 2.



There is an interesting statement made in the 'Díaleco de la Lengua' (written according to Dickner before 1836)<sup>100</sup> which throws some light on the subject of pronunciation:

Martín: Donde viene que algunos españoles en muchos vocablos, que por ordinario escribís con z, ellos ni la pronuncian ni la escriben?

Valdes: Eso es vizio, particular de las lenguas de los que no les sirve para aquella aspilleria pronunzia zion de la z, i ponen en su lugar la s i por haze dicen hase i por razon, rason i por razon, razon etc.

100 'Hist. of Span. Lit.', II, p. 20.

101 Quoted from 'C. de la Lengua', p. 100.



For 3 seemed to me must be more  
less otherwise there would be no dif-  
ference between 3 and 4; and more-  
over, if we remember that the au-  
thor of the 'Dialogue' was a courtier  
of the court of Charles V., the whole  
point of his remark would be lost  
if he were not referring to the pro-  
nunciation of the educated classes.  
Hence I would infer that at this  
time (before 1530), there was creeping  
into the literary speech, a vulgarity  
which confused the pronunciation of  
of 3 and 4 and made them both  
vocalise instead of keeping the  
former sound.

Delasee (1582), writing at the time  
when these sounds (3 and 4) had  
become indistinguishable, says that





being voiceless the second voiced, the  
Sturm, after a consideration of the  
schwaunt made by Velasquez, and having  
in mind the fact that z and zh were  
frequently confounded, comes to the  
conclusion that the "Sturm" is  
scheinlich durch die Verschiedenheit der  
Stimmen veranlaßt worden, auch eine Ver-  
schiedenheit der Aussprache anzunehmen.

Now, as both the voiced and voice-  
less z (that is, z and zh) were used by  
the more careful and conservative speak-  
ers before 1536, it is natural to suppose  
that in Velasquez's time (1512), there ex-  
isted, side by side, both a voiced and  
voiceless sibilant, but this pro-



innovation belonged to the conservative  
element of society and naturally up-  
holds the custom that Velasco would  
discontinue in his work. On the other  
hand, there may have existed among  
the majority of the educated classes  
views indifferent only, since they  
knew only the voiceless dental fricative  
and not the voiced *s* as a distinct sound.

Another point is to be noted. The  
Spanish *c* before *e*, and *z* before *a*,  
are pronounced *s*. The same is true  
of Mexico, South America<sup>103</sup> and Cuba<sup>104</sup>  
and this conformity of pronunciation  
would argue strongly for the fact that  
that the voiceless dental sibilant *s* was

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<sup>103</sup> 'Etiología', p. vii. 'Span. Sprachlehre', p. 13.

<sup>104</sup> 'Span. Sprachlehre', p. 13.



the sound used in the literary speech  
of Spain at the time of the con-  
quest of the Indies.

There is a very general idea ~~among~~ with  
~~some persons~~ with some Spaniards, that the pronunciation of c and z  
as s is due to a large Andalusian  
element among the American colonists.

In contradiction to this idea, compare  
the following statement of Merel Pato:

"In Andalusia c and z are seldom  
pronounced like s, but a feature more  
peculiar to the Andalusians is the  
inverse process - the softened or inter-  
dental pronunciation of s (the so called  
suave s) ~~which is not~~" 115

For name mentions are indispensable.



Outa and the Guajaca Indians: "Z,  
has the sound of s, as has also c,  
before e, but before i like s in the  
same position it passes into the like  
the shu shu shu shu shu  
(dulec) shu (uicte)."<sup>106</sup> These Greek words  
sira, dule, sute and the modern  
form represents the same development  
that took place in original Latin  
words in the old Spanish pronunciation,  
for example, vesica & vesiga, desit, desic.

In Mexico I have noted only  
three words having initial s sound;  
namely, Soko, Sude, and Seme. The  
last mentioned, Soma, is the name





of a wooden drinking cup and hence  
may in some way be connected with  
the vulgar Spanish chomar to drink.  
As for Soke and Sunde they are proba-  
bly of Indian origin, though I have not  
been able to find them in any of the de-  
linaries or collections of aboriginal  
words.

Salque and Salte belong to the same  
words as Salte and Salte and  
sound like salte (salte) (salte) (salte)  
(salte), cacaste (cacaste).<sup>47</sup> This sound s is  
common to the Indian languages  
of Mexico.

#### 1. Medial

Medial t and s unanimitas as in Castil-  
ian, for example, rete, kasa.

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47- Med. Lang. Notes, Vol. 1, p. 111.



ma' l d betan a-c or aa ventu-  
alis, thus, -ado rac, ada-raa. The forms  
are further reduced to da and  
its derivatives.

manade, mamao, manade  
colorado, colorao, kelorao  
pegada, pegao, pegi  
nada, naa, na

The fall of d in the cases just  
mentioned is common to the vulgar  
speech of the larger part of Spain  
and Spanish America.<sup>118</sup> The further  
development of ao to da is found  
only in Andalusia<sup>119</sup> and Asturia,<sup>120</sup>  
is due to a natural, organic process.

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118 *Idem*, *Idem*, p. 318.

118 *Idem*, V, p. 318.

119 *Idem*, *Idem*, p. 318.



of the e to a u-sound in the falling diphthongs.

Another point to be noted in regard to the intervocalic d, is that it does not fall in the ending ido as it often does in Spain, though the extent of the phenomenon is an unsettled question; for example, Mowl 'ake in speaking of Spain remarks: "At the present day the d of the suffixes ado, ido, is no longer pronounced throughout the whole extent of the domain."<sup>11</sup> Now, in opposition to this view, Mugica says, in his treatment of the dialect of Vizcaya: "Dispare como en Castellano la d de la terminación ado, pero no la de ido que

11- Encyc. Brit. Vol. VIII, p. 100



no suena en otros dialectos: "<sup>111</sup> but  
contradicting to his own remarks:  
La d no se pronuncia en el sufixo  
ado. En Andalucía el sufixo ido se  
pronuncia í," "<sup>112</sup> some which we would  
infer that ido, íe is a sketch of an  
~~asturian~~ ~~basque~~.

Meyer-Lücke observes: "Dans le nord  
aussi la chute a eu lieu au singulier  
apres a: au à côté de ade est fré-  
quent en asturien: ce phénomène même  
s'est transmise en Amérique."<sup>113</sup>

tride, trido for Castilian re, ri, are Old  
Spanish forms which have been pre-  
served in Mexico, Uruguay and the

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<sup>111</sup> 'Lect. Cast.' p. 49

<sup>112</sup> 'Gram. Cast.' § 61

<sup>113</sup> 'Gram. des langues Rom.' p. 58





Argentine Republic," as well as in Spain.<sup>114</sup>

Medial e (e) and z.

Medial e before e, and z before a, e, u have the same sound as when initial, that is, voiceless sibilant s.

asez (hacer), presioso (precurso), plaza (plaza), asul (azul).

Final

Final t does not occur.

Final d

Final d regularly falls: usado, usado, verdad, virtud, virtud, virtud.

The fall of final d is very general among the common people of Spain, and Dr. Arce observes that the final d

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114- Mod. Lang. Notes, VIII, 2, 24.



a Usted is not heard even among the 'educated classes of Madrid'. Cuervo in speaking of the fall of final l in Bogotá, remarks that "it takes place 'casi dondequiera que se habla nuestra lengua'."<sup>100</sup>

An interesting exception in Mexico is the word rede (= Castilian red = Latin rete). The Mexican form is doubtless introduced from the Salician dialect where the final salvati l is retained; <sup>101</sup> for example, bondade, piadade, mercede.

Saco Arce says the final e in these

forms is, probably correct in supposing that the e is the same posttonic

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<sup>100</sup> Leng. Bogot., p. 413.

<sup>101</sup> Gram. Sal., i, 2.



which has been retained in the Old  
Len dialect.<sup>116</sup> In fact we have similar  
forms occurring as far back as the  
'Puma del Sud'.

The Quechua form of ud in Cuba and  
Guayaquil is uda.<sup>117</sup>

Quiro mentions a similar case of re-  
tention of posttonic e in Isogela, that  
is, in huaspide (huasped).<sup>118</sup>

Final s.

Final s before a word beginning with a  
muted or voiceless consonant remains as  
a pure voiceless dental sibilant s: transes,  
transes, transes.

Final s before a word beginning with

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116 Donamía, IV

117 Amer. Phil. Ass., I, p. 154.

118 Long. Soc., p. 75.









Figure suivante: doscientos & de cientos

les sacs & les sacs

Meyer-Lücke in treating the final s  
in Spanish remarks: "On <sup>espagnol</sup> l's (final)  
est en voie de s'assourdir et l'assourdisse-<sup>122</sup>  
ment a déjà été réalisé en andalous.

Krook, speaking in a rather indefinite  
manner of the Spanish of Spain and  
America, remarks that "final s is fre-  
quently dropped in conversation when  
the next word begins with a consonant  
especially t, m, n, z."<sup>123</sup>

Schuchardt states that in Andalusian  
s before a consonant or when final  
has become h, that is, it has passed  
from "tenlose lange zu tenlose weite," and

122 'L'assourdissement' = 'assourdissement'.

123 'Span. Conversations' p. 10.

124 'L'assourdissement' = 'assourdissement'.



Becht.<sup>125</sup>

... das s am Ende der Worte  
oder verwandelt es in eine hauchende  
Laut der fast wie f klingt. ... Des  
selben geschieht oft sogar mit anlauten-  
dem s.<sup>126</sup> The f-sound here referred  
to is doubtless the sound of f before  
u, ui, that is, ʰ.

From the remarks noted above it  
will be seen that the fall of s  
in possessibility is more marked  
than in the districts just men-  
tioned; in other words, if we omit

125- Lang. Becht., p. 481.

126- Gramm. f. Deutsch, II, 1;



The fall of s before a sibilant which is  
a case of simple assimilation, the fall  
of final s in Mexico City takes place  
only before the liquids l, r and n.

Brugmann in speaking of the fall  
of s in Old Latin, shows that it took  
place first before the consonants n, d,  
l.<sup>102</sup>

Not mentioning the connection with  
Brugmann's statement, I can men-  
tion one case of the fall of s before  
n in Mexico, that is, cuayas noches &  
cena noches. Compare also the literary  
Spanish forms camions, hablamos, etc.

In Old French the s early became silent  
before m, n, d, l. In modern Portuguese  
we find lai, lei before d, l, m and s,

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<sup>102</sup> 'Comp. Gram.' I, p. 311.



but les las before the consonants  
x, t.

Even the apocope apocope apocope apocope apocope  
the fall of s in 'Mexico, though not so  
extensive as in some other districts, is  
in harmony with the principles establish-  
ed for other languages; that is to say,  
the break was made before the liquid,  
and in Mexico especially before s, as in  
les early as 1648. Franciscini mentions  
that the apocope apocope apocope apocope apocope  
apocope.<sup>128</sup>

Inorganic final s

A few words call for special notice  
in this point.

The second person singular of the

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128. 'Gram. des Lang. Mex.', p. 627.

129. fts., I, p. 211.





*Atlatl* always ends in *s* in Mexico, hence we have the forms *whetates* (*whetates*), *atlatles* (*atlatles*), *hemites* (*hemites*), etc.

The only other districts where this phenomenon has been found, are the *Andalusia*<sup>130</sup> and *Bogotá*. In the latter the *s* has been put in before the *t* of the ending and we have such forms as *atlatles*, etc.<sup>131</sup>

The Mexican *s* in Mexico is added by analogy to the second person singular of all the other tenses.<sup>132</sup>

The noun *caxé* forms a plural.

130 *Ann. Bogot.*, p. 134.

131- *Ibid.*, V, p. 320

132- A discussion of these forms with little profit, may be found in an article by Cuervo on 'Las segundas Personales de Plural', *Revista*, t. vi, pp.



cajes. (Castilian ceps). Cuene men-  
tions two analogous cases for Roce-  
ta, namely, ~~si~~ *si* and *si*, and  
apises plural of *aji*, and he refers  
to Sundell's statement that some  
plurals in -es are "inficionados de  
gitanismo."<sup>132</sup> ~~now in the same~~  
found in South America and Mex-  
ico, ~~and it is not necessary to~~  
the gitanos or whether they re-  
sult a parallel development in  
the folk speech of America, the  
reason for the forms is evident, es-  
pecially for *si* and *cajes*.

There are but few words in Span-  
ish which end in accented *é*.  
These words regularly form a plural



the addition of s thus making a plural ending in es, which ending is naturally confused with the large number of words having es for the singular form. The plural is added to the singular of 'for example, mis, misses; coats, coats, Francis, Francis'. In Latin the number of words is greatly increased by all singulars ending in -ez (which is pronounced -es) testez, xutes, etc. Hence the formation of a plural captes, pieces upon the original plural captes, oiles, etc.

#### IV 'Combination of consonants'

Combination with d.

d followed by m is common in



~~A. U. L. can be made admi-~~  
rable, admirable, administrador & al-  
ministrador.

The same change takes place in  
Buenos Aires <sup>134</sup>

This change of d. to t is a physiological  
one; to pass from the former to the  
latter it is necessary simply to leave  
the sides of the tongue.

de & ge 'in madre and pado, which  
become respectively magre, pare. These  
forms, however, are confined chief-  
ly to the Indians & the interior, and  
their occasional use in Mexico City,  
does not, strictly speaking, belong  
to our dialect. I now mention the  
same phenomenon in Chile. <sup>135</sup>

134 See de Ling., II., p. 62.

135 Phon. Stud. 8





This change of d to g is doubtless  
due to the following velar z, the  
tongue being drawn back in anti-  
cipation of this z.

Combinations with z

z followed by a voiced consonant  
naturally becomes voiced:

~~mesme~~ ~~mesme~~

mesme, me

This change of s to z before a  
voiced consonant is exactly the  
same as that mentioned for z in  
s before a word beginning with a  
voiced consonant (cf. p. 93)

Meyer Lübke in treating this sub-  
ject, remarks: "s latine est sonde  
en romaine, en etalieu, et en  
espagnol. . . mais il est possible  
que l'a-espagnol ait sonne . . ."







naturally, inquire: Did not the voiced  
s come to Mexico by way of Galicia?  
It would seem more probable that  
the Mexican sound represents a pure  
physiological change common to a  
large portion of Spain, especially  
in the use of s before t and  
before n and m.

Compare the following statement of  
M. de Latham: "Le syllabe ts  
de l'article et en partie des adie-  
tives est conditionnée par l'initial  
de mot suivant. On trouve ts devant  
les voyelles, t devant une sourde et  
s devant une sonore."<sup>135</sup>

Combination of s + t

The initial syllable ts-follows in ts

135. 'Gram. des Lang. Rom.', I. p. 383. cf. faber, 17. 119.



langue and in all forms of the  
verb estar. The first word occurs  
as tanque (tanques) only in Mexico  
and Galicia hence it is possibly  
of Galician origin.<sup>139</sup>

The all of which is in forms of  
the verb estar, is found in the  
Galicia,<sup>140</sup> Asturia<sup>141</sup> and Cuba.<sup>142</sup> In  
western of S. being a consonant  
is a general characteristic of Andalusia  
and Bogota. Schuchardt  
remarks on this subject: "Dass das  
spanische S vor Consonanten anders  
articuliert wird als zwischen Voe-

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139- 'Nort. Dice', sub voce.

140- Glz, I, p. 314, note.

141- Ibid.

142- Amer. Phil. Soc. I, p. 1.





en, und dies diese Besondere lenkt in  
Portugiesischen noch schärfer hervortritt;  
ist eben bemerkt worden. Es ist  
~~hier & oben in der~~  
ge h wird so chta, behea, mhi  
mo." <sup>143</sup>

It will be noted that Mexican Span-  
ish represents a stage of further  
development than that just quoted;  
that is, the ch has fallen en-  
tirely and we may suppose the  
stages ota & chta, ta & ta. The  
Andalusian stage & ch.k (s) has  
been preserved in 'Bogotá' when we  
find such forms as chta, chta,  
etc. <sup>144</sup> The same change s to h is

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143 Gls., V, p. 319.

144 Lang. Bogot., p. 48.



also found in Chile.<sup>145</sup>

In Mexican ta' (hasta) we must  
suppose a change of accent to have  
taken place after the manner  
of the 2. set in the Spanish words  
ta', ta.

## Parataxis

### I Initial

Initial x (that is, ca, ca, and ca +  
ca, ca) remains as in Parataxis, for  
example, ka (casa), ka (cama), ka  
(cama), ka (cama), ka (cama),  
(cama), ka (cama), ka (cama).

Initial g (that is, ca, ca, and ca +  
ca, ca) remains as in Castilian; for  
example, ga (cama), ga (cama),  
(cama), ga (cama).



g before u<sup>147</sup> regularly disappears in  
pronunciation: guarda, warda, quac-  
ete, waxete, Guadalajara & Uada'axara  
Guadalupe & Uadalupe.

The only other portions of Spanish  
language now in use  
seem to occur are Chile,<sup>147</sup> Cuba and  
the Curacao Islands.<sup>148</sup> Arch in his  
'Pronunciation of Spanish in Spain  
and America' remarks: "When qua be-  
gins a word, some drop the g and  
pronounce u like a w, guardar wardar"<sup>149</sup>

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qua does not occur as initial but  
it will be seen in the treatment of medial  
g that qua and quo have a like history.

<sup>147</sup> *Jl.*, II, p. 212; see *Span. Stud.*, II, p. 214.

<sup>148</sup> *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151

<sup>149</sup> *L. C.*, p. 12



This statement throws no light on the extent of the phenomenon, and further, more, we shall see that it is not confined to initial qua, but is also the regular pronunciation of medial qua.

Since Castilian qua occurs only in words of Germanic or Arabic origin which had initial wa, the thought naturally suggests itself that the Mexican pronunciation is a preservation of the original wa sound. The difficulty with such an explanation lies in the fact that we should expect to find traces of this wa in old Spanish and in some of the modern dialects of Spain. But this is not the case; the wa in Castilian qua is purely foreign.





Spanish America and even here it seems to be confined to Chile, Cuba, Curacao and Mexico. Hence we must suppose that wa is a later development out of gua, which took place after the Spanish conquest of America.

The physiological explanation of such a change is a natural one; it represents an assimilation of g to the following semi-vowel y, that is, gua & yua & wa.

This phenomenon has a counterpart in the Old French development of Latin gu, gu followed by a word beginning with a vowel: gu uok & faure & foe.<sup>130</sup> A still closer

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130- cf. Neumann in ZhL, Vol., 33, 385-395



analogy may be seen in Provençal,  
where ja is ja.<sup>151</sup> In English  
also, there is a ja sound simi-  
lar to that found in Morisy, as  
in words as wait, waiver,  
warrior in which initial wa  
had its origin in French qua  
when, in time goes back to the  
same root.<sup>152</sup>

Initial ja (as in ja) is found  
ed as in Castilian, that is, it has  
the sound of <sup>the</sup> guttural spirant χ:  
χaten (given), χamas (gamas), χene-  
ral (general)

In the Spanish of the Philippine

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151. Gram. des Lang., p. 117.

152. Ibid., p. 116.



islands<sup>133</sup> and in Galicia<sup>134</sup> the *j* has  
the sound *ʃ*. In the 16th century, pronunciation  
initial *ch*.

Initial *ch* has retained the devo-  
palatal sound of the Castilian; *chá* (charia),  
*chico* (chico), *chulo* (chulo).

## II Medials

Medial *k* (that is, *ca*, *co*, and *cu*)  
remains as in Castilian, for exam-  
ple, *saka* (saco), *loke* (loque), *chike*  
(chiquito).

Medial *g* (that is, *ga*, *go*, and *gu*)  
remains as in Castilian,  
for example, *diálogo*, *traiça* (traer  
revelar).

133 Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad., LV, p. 141.

134 Gram. Gal., p. 13.



Medial *y* before *u*, *uo*, has the same development as initial *y* before *u*, that is, it disappears in pronunciation by means of assimilation to the following *u*: *agua*, *au~~u~~a*, *au~~u~~a*, *chichigua*, *ci~~u~~iva*, *antiquos*, *antivo*.

In *kokoté* (Castilian *cogote*) we have introduction of a northern Spanish form which is found in *Vélez*<sup>155</sup> and *Alagón*<sup>156</sup>.

Medial *y* before *u* is found in *xuo* & *agupio*, *au~~u~~a* & *agua*. These forms occur also in *Bogotá*<sup>157</sup> and *Chile*<sup>158</sup> and are doubtless introduced

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155. *Real. Cast.*, p. 50.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 23. cf. *Voces Arag.* *sub voce*

157. *Leno. Bogotá*, p. 414

158. *Phon. Stud.*, II, 219





ed from the *Guaraní* dialect.<sup>159</sup>

Starga (Castilian haya) raiga, etc.  
are survivals of the old Spanish and  
provincial forms which are similar

to raiga (Castilian raiga)  
forms for Bogotá, that is, raiga,  
(raiga, raiga raiga, raiga), etc.<sup>159</sup>

In aiga (Castilian aiga) we have  
an epenthetic g which is called into  
existence by the vowel e in the  
Indian pronunciation (cf. maiga,  
maiga, padia, pagia). In Chile  
Senf has noted the form adia

explanation: "Ein schönes Beispiel von  
„überintäusserung“, nach Gachnagel u.



nennung, ist die Bildung adrie statt  
aie, die aber natürlich nicht populär,  
sondern dem mediopopulären (dem halb-  
gelehrten) mediopopulären mediopopulären  
'analogiebildung nach der verbesserung  
des indigenen paiz jeune paiz  
paiz <sup>130</sup>

Such an analogiebildung analogiebildung  
not apply to Mexican aigre which  
is strictly popular in its use.  
Medial f (also g, i, e)

Medial f analogiebildung analogiebildung  
for example, muyee musci, trage  
(trape).

The Castilian word damañiana exists  
in Mexico as damañana. The history  
of this word is peculiar; it goes



rack for its etymology is Damagham,  
a city in the Persian province of Kasa-  
sán, famous for its glass ware. The  
word becomes Italian damagiana, whence  
French damejane, which, in turn,  
through a Volks-etymologie and a  
corresponding written form, became  
dame-jeanne. This French form  
was translated into classic Spanish  
as dama-juana. As for the form  
damasana which is found also in  
Cuba and Bogotá, here is the  
following explanation: "Trácese aquí la  
relación entre damasana y dama  
en Cuba en la forma damasana para  
hacer notar la manera en que se ha  
representado la f francesa (é el son



de arábico semejantísimo caso que la  
voz sea andaluza y recibida moderna-  
mente de (g)uea en época en que el  
Castellano no tiene ya tal pronunciación.  
No de otra suerte. ha estropeado el pro-  
pio biputeré los españoles que dicen  
bisutería por buhonería, payeria, etc.  
Medial ch

Medial ch está presente en muchos en  
Castilian; por example, muchos (mu  
cho), cacha (cha), gachos.

### III. Finals

Final, Stems or spirants are found  
in Mexican as well as in Castilian.

Final k (c) has fallen in Indian  
words. Calla, Chapultepec, Capulápé, Ca-





manuscript Swantept, Muantept,  
Wautept; New York: Muta See,  
ceptak, biste.

Final g and ch occur neither in  
Castilian nor Mexican.

Final f in veloz has fallen, giving  
velo, which is the common pro-  
nunciation in Spain.

#### IV Combinations of palatal + cons.

'Palatal' + dental, ct, cc (ks) and x (ks);

The combination cc can occur only  
after the vowels e or i, and coming  
from ss or ss is pronounced  
s by the educated classes of Mexico,  
it is evident that cc + ss is pro-  
nounced ks or x.

ct:

Latin ct has regularly become ch  
in Spanish, consequently all such



Castilian words having the combination ct, must be either learned or borrowed and it is these names that call for explanation in Mexico.

The c of the combination ct has often in Mexico become an epenthetic i if the preceding vowel is a or e:

act: edactor, edaitor, acti, acti.

ect: defecto, defecto, asector, asecto.

ect: —, —, —, —.

doctor, doitor, moctizuma & moitsuma.

uct: coniductor & conditor, colibre & colibre.

Meyer-Libke in treating of Latin ct

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163. Every c followed by ct in Castilian, is open. For chance of c to c cf. §. 54.

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zu Tag, hat sich in Aragonesen und  
Portugiesischen erhalten." <sup>165</sup>

We see from the above that the et under  
consideration had the same development  
in Mexico that Popular Latin <sup>c!</sup> had in  
the North Spanish dialects, and the  
development was the same phonet-  
ical explanation as the et & et in  
French.

In addition to forms like depto, u-  
to, we find occasionally in Mexico  
plento, auto, etc., but not in suffi-  
cient numbers to be called a char-  
acteristic of our dialect, and similar  
double forms occur in Bogotá <sup>166</sup> and  
Buenos Ayres; <sup>167</sup> in Spain the double

165 - 'Grundriss', I. p. 205, § 41.

166 'Lang. Boet.', S. 448

167 'See. de Lang.', II, 462.





development is very common since, according to Mugica, it occurs in Santandee Andalusia, "Galicia" y otras provincias.<sup>168</sup>

Carolina Michaelis mentions the fall of e in the group et, but does not note an development of ae parallel to e or u: "Der Vulgaire Spanier et er Ka-lissauer eder Kollisauer der Kollisauer ist, sagt - - - - - later, protuber, efete"<sup>169</sup>  
ee:

In the popular speech of Mexico the same change has taken place in ee (ks) that has been noted for et, that is, the e falls leaving behind an apophthegic é of the preceding vowel is a or e: accione & awise, salle.

168 Dial. Cast., p. 26.

169 *Spanische Grammatik*, p. 100.



gacine : satisfacción, aflicción : aflicción,  
instrucción : instrucción.

The same phenomenon occurs in the  
dated <sup>110</sup> "Buenos Ayres" and <sup>111</sup> "Bocotá" <sup>112</sup>.

x:

This letter has in Castilian the same  
xs, chiefly in the prefix ex- in  
learned words and proper names. In  
all such cases the x has been re-  
duced to s in Spanish:

excelente, escelente, texto : testo, re-  
ligio : relio, universitario : university  
antiguo

This reduction of x to s is the re-

See p. 17, p. 18.

See de la Cruz, p. 18.

See de la Cruz, p. 18.



well established in Popular Latin.<sup>113</sup>

g + n:

In the combination gn, g always falls: indigno & indigno, ignorante & ignorante, magnifico, manixiko, Ignacio & Inacio

This reduction of gn to n is a very general one in Spain. Murcia mentions it for Santander<sup>114</sup> and Lépiz,<sup>115</sup> and Schuchardt for Andalusia, where he also heard the sound gn.<sup>116</sup> In Spanish America the reduction has also taken in Buenos Ayres<sup>117</sup> and

113 'Grundriss', I, p. 364, § 26

114 'Dial. Cast.', p. 7.

115 'Ibid.', p. 52

116 'Ibid.', p. 52

117 'Soc. de ling.', p. 60



Bogetá.<sup>128</sup> In Salvia the resulting sound  
is sometimes ri (ricar, añe).<sup>129</sup> That is,  
the ri is the same as the ri in  
el Popular riine gr, while in More  
co. the g has been completely as-  
similated to the g in the g in the  
of palatalization.

## Liquids

Liquids

initial l and r remain unchanged,  
that is, they keep the Castilian sound  
clearer: loko (loco), pare, resolve,  
ric, reveno (rebueno).<sup>130</sup>

initial ll has in all cases become  
y: llamar & yamas, llegar, yer.

129- Span. Gr., p. 20.

130- llamar & yamas, llegar, yer.





1100 & 1102.

remarks that "it sounds" wie j oder  
wie die deutsche ausgesprochen so sollte  
aussprechen. Infolge dessen werden  
in der Aussprache die beiden Zeichen  
j und ll nicht unterschieden und  
im Schreiben machen selbst Presen-

tenz und absolute Verwirrung.

From this statement we must in-  
fer that the Spanish j has the  
same sound as y otherwise there  
could be no confusion in writing  
j for ll and vice versa. My own  
observations have shown no confusion  
of j and ll either in pronunciation



in writing and I suppose that some  
remark may apply to some district other  
than Mexico City since his article  
deals with the pronunciation of  
Mexico in general except when special  
mention is made of a certain district.  
It is possible that his sign T refers  
to the German letter, in which case  
his pronunciation would hold not  
for Mexico City, but such a sus-  
position still leaves unexplained the  
confusion in writing, of the sym-  
bols T and Tel.

The pronunciation of Mexico is  
characteristic of the educated  
of Mexico as well as of the lower  
classes. The same pronunciation is  
also very general in Spain and its  
occurrence in Old Spanish has



have noted several new facts  
for the old *lira* dialect. Basso is  
speaking of the *l* in Spanish, and he  
"Die *l* in *lira* steht hier das  
Aster. of *lira* nächste, während *lira*  
und *Portug.* das ältere *l* *lira* bleibt." <sup>117</sup>

In Spanish America the *l* is  
present in Cuba and Peru, <sup>118</sup> and  
Mexico, and the development is

has taken place in the modern  
pronunciation of *lira* French.

In Puebla (Mexico) the *l* has be-  
come *l*: *lira*, *lira*, *lira*, *lira*,  
*lira*.

<sup>112</sup> *lira*, *lira*.

<sup>113</sup> *lira*, *lira*.

<sup>114</sup> *lira*, *lira*, *lira*, *lira*.

<sup>115</sup> *lira*, *lira*, *lira*, *lira*.



The same development has also taken place in *Buenos Ayres* and *San Salvador*. The remark of Sacton *Revue de Linguistique* 1877, p. 187, applies to Puebla (Mexico) as well: "à Buenos Ayres on a été plus loin, non seulement il a passé à y, mais y a passé au son chuintant du français f." That is, the tongue makes contact at the point of contact with the hard palate thus passing from the voiced palatal to the voiced dento-palatal fricative. This is exactly the same change that took place in the development of y to modern Spanish x, which passed through

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18. *Revue de Ling.*, II, p. 64.

19. *Revue de Ling.*, VII, p. 62.





the stage 2.

Initial rr does not occur in writing,  
but the initial r has the  
sound of rr, in Mexico as well  
as in Castilian.

### ii. Medials

Medial l remains as in Castilian; for  
example, malo, visto, cute, mula.

Medial r generally remains as in Castilian;  
for example, traz, loro, cara.

Medial e falls in ja & paa & pa.e, and  
mina.té & mira listed. The fall

of intervocalic e takes place in isolated  
words in Andalusia,<sup>188</sup> Asturia,  
Santander<sup>189</sup> and Vizcaya,<sup>190</sup> and in

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188. ibid., V, p. 317.

189. Real. Acad., p. 18.

190. ibid., p. 18.



Buenos Aires,<sup>191</sup> Cuba, <sup>192</sup>Caracas and Bogotá.<sup>193</sup> As for the examples cited for Mexico, they must be regarded also as isolated cases, and not characteristic of the language.

In the first word, Cuervo remarks that "pa paa para, común casi dondequiera que se habla nuestra lengua"<sup>194</sup>

In Peru the r is occasionally changed to l (avallado, quedado, se caballe ro, querer),<sup>195</sup> a phenomenon which is

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191 Doc. de Ling., II, p. 64.

192 Anaer. Phil. Cos., I, p. 151.

193 Leng. Bogotá, p. 478.

194 Ibid.

195 Leym. Person., II<sup>2</sup> p. 60.



Found in Vizcaya<sup>176</sup> and Aragon<sup>177</sup>.

Metathesis occurs in prote & sote,  
patez & paul, premise & premisso,  
trattell & Gavino.

Interchange of l and r is not so  
common as in the  
provençal group.

only cases noted are calze & Kar  
setin, perquis & l  
medial l

Medial l has the same history  
as in the provençal group.

becomes y: call, kara, lortella, lor  
tina, vasaia & kataya.

In Puebla medial l is just as  
when it is initial: gallina, gažina.



Medial rr retains the Castilian pronunciation: Carro (charro), torre (torre), para (para).

### 27. Rinals

Final L remains as in Castilian for example, el, al, well, el.

Final n has become voiceless (ɲ), so that the only audible sound

is a repetition of the initial n in the corner: Ronɲ, river, biter, hablar, ablar, mujer & mujer, señor & señor.

Schuchardt, in speaking of e, quotes the following passage from Bristed: "The apparent neologism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a voiceless e for the Spanish e (e.g. amar for amar, like it) for amar." 198





in Andalusia<sup>199</sup> and in the Creole  
of Curacao<sup>200</sup>, the final e has  
developed into a diphthong, but in  
it has disappeared entirely. muje,  
torar, torar, etc., <sup>201</sup> Queiro  
mentions señor (senor) and muje (mu  
je) which have lost the final  
e even in the most popular  
U.S. of Columbia.

The falling away of final e is  
a well known phenomenon in other  
languages, and in the United  
States it is found in the pro  
nunciation of the Southern Negroes  
in their familiar do (doe), glo

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199 - Glo, II, p. 318.

200 - Amer. Phil. Ass., I pp. 153, 155

201 - See Quinto, p. 200



glor, matta (matter), etc.

Final ll and rr do not occur in Castilian or Mexican.

## Udpirate

### Initial

In Castilian initial h is pronounced as h before ue.

In Mexico h is silent before ue but is pronounced like German h in a few cases where it is silent in Castilian:

hueso > weso, huaro > wero etc  
but, humo > humo, huyo > huyo,  
hular > hular

The last examples cited are probably traces of the sixteenth century pronunciation and must not be confounded with the guttural



quantity of *h* & *x* in Santander,<sup>202</sup> and if  
 this is true, it is possible that  
 certain of Spanish dialects in which  
 such a phenomenon has taken  
 place, it would rather seem  
 that in Santander the same re-  
 version of vowels has taken  
 place as in Andalusia and  
 the same is surely a strong  
 argument. In Andalusia where  
 the *f* has been reduced to *h*  
 hence we find such forms as  
hino (hino), hente (gente), etc.<sup>203</sup>  
 In the north of *h* in Spanish

202. 'Dial. Cast.', p. 11

203. 'Phon. Andul.', p. 11



here p. 10;

The conditions in Mexico are very similar to those in Cuba according to the following statement of Van Name: "The h is dealt with quite after the Spanish fashion. Before the diphthong 'ue' where in Spanish it is dropped as in Creole as also in Cuba, it is silent; thus, ueba (huero), ueco (huaco), uepo (huapo). Before other vowels it is silent in Spanish but generally aspirated in Creole." 204

of h before the diphthong 'ue' which is quite current in Mexican; that is hue, que; hence:





quere, huero & guete, huero & guero.

<sup>204</sup> Such forms as these are still in provincial use in Spain and a large section of Spanish Mexico.  
ca. <sup>205</sup>

The way of u change is similar to that of bue & güe; the initial h is silent, but the u is g before e and i. The g is developed as explained in the treatment of Labials.<sup>206</sup>

## II Medial

Medial h is silent in Mexican as well as in Castilian; as a graphic sign it does not pre-

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204 Amer. Phil. Ass., T. p. 151

205 cf. p. 66.

206 cf. p. 65.



vent the diphthongization of the  
two vowels which it separates;  
for example, ahogar & aguar bu  
gar.

### Initial

Initial n does not occur in Mexico;  
it is found in Peru and on the coast of U. S.  
of Columbia<sup>207</sup> as a weakening of  
final s<sup>208</sup>: Karlo (Carlos), Diok  
li (Dios), etc.

## Nasals

### Initial

Initial m, n generally remain as

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<sup>207</sup> Id., V, p. 319. cf. 'Phon. Andale', pp. 41, 42.

<sup>208</sup> 'Lang. Bogot.', p. 481.



the Cavallero, for example, male, mies<sup>v</sup>  
(mucio), monte, número.

n before the diphthong ie<sup>210</sup> regularly  
becomes ñ at the same time absor-  
bing the i of the diphthong: mieto,  
ñeto, miere & ñete, nervias & ñervos  
through a stage mieros which is found  
in old and popular Spanish.

The use of initial ñ for n is a  
strong characteristic of<sup>211</sup> north Spain,  
especially of Asturias. In the words  
under consideration, however, it is  
hardly necessary to seek a north  
Spanish influence. The change  
appears to be purely phonetic.

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210. niá, nié do not occur as initial, for  
treatment as mediæ, cf. p. 142.

211. See also, 'Estudios Asturianos', p. 281, in Gamboa's p. 100.



and due to the salubritarian caus-  
ed by the yellowing of the diph-  
thoid ie

The stem accented forms of the verb  
vogar are, in Mexico, viego (e viego),  
vigas (e vigas), viego (e viego), etc.

These forms have created an  
"e" or initial re in all other  
forms of this verb, hence we

vengo, vengas, venga, etc.

In vengo (Castilian vengo) we have  
a preservation of the old Spanish  
form through the medium of the  
North Spanish provinces. Murguía  
in treating the Santander dialect  
remarks: "La re se muda en i  
en vengo, también del dialecto viz-  
caino, vocablo que se manifiesta  
la influencia asturiana como en





añudar (añudar).<sup>212</sup> Savit also re-  
gards nido as of asturian origin.<sup>213</sup>

Initial n has remained, but  
it occurs original Spanish words:  
nino, nake lingue.

## II. Medials

Medial n remains as in Castilian,  
for example, ante, sinia uma  
uma (huma).

Medial n generally remains as in  
Castilian, for example, mano, sino  
(senor).

Medial n followed by the diphthongs  
ie, io, ii, ui, ai, au, oi, ou, ei, eu, ai, au, oi, ou,  
under the influence of the i  
of the following diphthong, the i in

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212 'Dial. Cast.', p. 20

213 'Glosses', I, p. 212, 213



turn being absorbed: Antonia & Anto-  
ña, matrimonio & matrimônio, anêga  
ânega.

In muneço & muecho we have re-  
served an old Spanish form which  
"still in common use in the pro-  
vinces."<sup>219</sup> According to Meyer the  
n of muneço is due to the initial  
m. "L'adduction nasale constitue une  
des plus grandes difficultés. On a  
souvent montré (p. 1066), que dans beau-  
coup de localités une n et une  
m initiale de la syllabe nasalisée  
la voyelle suivant, cf. encore la dague  
(l'espagnol mangana, minguna, mancilla,  
mancha, cimentajo, munecho, etc."<sup>215</sup>



Baet restricts the above rule as follows: "Antantredes re, er and met each vor z, ch s, dr, c, since re er met are only before a dental or dental-palatal."

216- <sup>12</sup> 'Lundries', I. s. 701, p 55.



1890, July 2.

at home

There are many words in Spanish

Mexican or Castilian.

For example, cañon is a

Canal, cañon, cañon, cañon.

atlan (hallan), kamen (comen).

In Puebla and occasionally in  
Mexico City final re becomes ye.

enfir (enfiri), güey (cien), vey (veir).

This change of final re to ye  
is very common in Spanish as  
seen from the following list  
of words which are not pronounced  
'tout velare re, tel est sincement le  
cas des Andalous, Andalous, Andalous, Andalous,  
l'Andalous, dans la province  
de Andalous dans





the Guatemalan <sup>"218"</sup> tan is a peculiar development of the ʃ of ʃ in Guatemala. Besides the nasalization of the final e similar to the terminations ng (pronounce tambing-g the syllable being quite faintly rounded) instead of tam-lie; tam-ping (pronounce tamang-g, etc., <sup>219</sup>

In näiden (Castilian nadie) we have addition of the ng ng. This I would consider as an analogy to the Li-ng of li-guerra, rather than the ng

218 'Gram. des Lang. Rom.', I. p. 310, § 367

219 'Mod. Lang. Notes', III p. 82.

For a discussion of the ʃ in Andalusian of 'Phon. Andalus',



the n that occurs as final in some of the Eastern French dialects.

The form naide for nadie occurs in Galicia,<sup>220</sup> Asturias<sup>221</sup> and Old Spanish. Hence it is probable that it is this North Spanish form which is the basis for Mexican naidon.

The process of nasalization in ajaina (Mexico) is the adding of an n-glide after a final s:  
ajaina → ajaina → ajaina.

This nasal n-glide is caused lowering the velum before the s-sound is completed. The tongue position remains the same, and the stream of breath continues.

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220- 'Gram. Gal.', p. 61. cf. 'Gram. des Lang. Rom.' I. b. 215

221- *ibid.* p. 216.







as regularly falls before the combinations  
st and sp: instrumentis, esturnens,  
instante & istante, transparente, trans-  
parente

It is now plain that the law is not  
entirely new, but is a working of the law established  
for Peculiar Latins.

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223- 'Gram. Lat.', p. 2

224- 'Gk', XVII, p. 301.

225- 'Lang. Progt.', 202.





## Pronunciation in Nahuatl

### Nahuatl

#### Accent.

The system of accentuation in Nahuatl differs markedly from that of Latin. In Latin the syllable bearing the principal stress and all others are made subordinate. In Nahuatl, on the other hand, there are five accents each of which has a distinct character of its own; a detailed discussion of these accents is however beyond the limit of the present work.<sup>226</sup> Compa-

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226- cf. Mus. Mex., III, p. 5. Quadr. descript., II, p. 11.



The following remark of Carrasco is  
relevant:

"Nota que para la colocación del acento no se ha de mirar como en el latín, sólo una sílaba, pero como en la lengua, por que en esta lengua todos los acentos que tienen los syllabas se pronuncian, y así algunas veces conforme a lo que la diction pide se hallan dos y tres acentos ~~propiamente~~ <sup>o diferentes.</sup>" 227

The reason of this system of accentuation is probably due to the fact that a large portion of the polysyllabic words are made up of smaller words and particles.

227- Gram. y Vocab Mex., p. 63.



of which has retained to a marked extent its original force and meaning.

All Nahuatl words which have come into the Spanish of Mexico, are accented in conformity with Castilian words, that is, the accent is on the penult if the word ends in a vowel or n, and on the final if the word ends in a consonant except n. Hence the number of esdrújulas is small, in fact there are only two examples, namely, ficara (= xicalli) and ficama (= xicamilli), and the 'stress' or 'emphasis' of the first is far from certain.



## Vowels

Frans Jansen Molino, who was first  
systematically to transcribe  
the Habsburg Spanish  
characters, uses "five vowel signs,  
a, e, i, o, u. He remarks however: "puesto  
caso que los naturales hagan poca  
diferencia entre e y i, o y u,  
quanto usan asi de la una con  
de la otra?"

I have noted a similar confusion  
of the vowels e and i, but owing  
to the indefinite character of these  
e and i sounds, I shall  
base my transcription on the spelling.









## Tonic Vowels

### Tonic a

Tonic a, free or checked, remains with the Castilian pronunciation: ahuacatl, avacatl, quahuacatl, uacatl, apinampa & cinampa.

### Tonic e

Tonic e, free or checked, remains as e except before s when in a checked case it becomes ɛ: ahuehuete & aveute, cocconitl & cobconitl; tepechtli, tapechtli.

### Tonic i

Tonic i, free or checked, remains as i: cacconitl, kakomtl, mesquite & mesquite, apipitzca, apipizka, coyote & coyote.



Tonic e

Tonic o, free or checked, remains o:  
o: xilotl, xilotē, acocotl, okotē,  
hopilotl, sopilotē.

Tonic u.

Free tonic u does not occur.

Checked tonic u regularly becomes  
o. suanti & suote, atulli & atote,  
coyotl & coyotē, chemulli & chemotē.

Only one exception occurs  
to rule; namely, ulli & ule.

Therefore variation in quality of  
of u to o (with no distinction of  
o and o.) in the aboriginal lan-  
guage of Spanish Mexico; for ex-  
ample kuntur, kondor, purutur,  
poroto.



1.  
Owing to the lack of scientific study  
of Mammoth phonetics, the explanation  
of the change from h to h̄  
h̄ must "be purely constructive. It  
is probable that h̄ being in checked position was  
originally short and open or  
became open on account of its  
shortness. The passage of h̄  
h̄ to h̄ is the same as that  
which took place in Popular  
Latin after the colonization of  
Sardinia.<sup>231</sup>

Montoya in speaking of the  
changes in mammoth words, re-  
marks: "Respecto de las vocales  
existiendo 'en el Mexicano lo mismo

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231- cf. note to p. 154.





cuerdas sonidos medios entre la o y  
la u, y entre la e y la i, el casti-  
llano los ha fijado en e y i.

Quedando por ejemplo e en e y i en i.

From the present evidence  
it is clear that Mendoza's state-  
ment can be made more definite  
for e and i only in certain

positions and in certain  
words. It will be shown in the  
study of other vowels.<sup>232</sup>

### Diphthongs

ue, ui.

When initial (through fall of i) or  
when preceded by a vowel (as ue) the

232- 'Palab. Mex.', p. 11.

233 cf. p. 163.



diphthongs become wa, we, wi;  
when preceded by a consonant they  
become wa, we, wi.

ua: acahuatl & akawal

ahuatl & awate

tlalcacahuatl & kakawate

tlagwafin & klakwacō

ue: atmewetl & awewetl

motzincucqui & macinkuepa

ui: chahuiztli & čawistle

chahuiztli & čikiwite

moyocuitli & moyokuit

itzcuintli & čskuintle



## Vowel Lower

The vowel vowels will be heard under the reading initial, pre-  
sented in the following table. The  
same as that in the vowels,  
the vowel pretonic and initial  
the secondary accent, pretonic in-  
cludes all vowels before the main  
accent, except the initial.

## Initials

Initial a

Initial a remains as a rule, for  
example, ahui<sup>h</sup>ok, awei<sup>h</sup>ok, ahua  
oak, awak<sup>h</sup>ok, ahua<sup>h</sup>ok.



and a y in the following  
words: acocotli, ikotli, ahuacamotli,  
wakamotli, ayxicotli, icicuitli.

In addition to ichin  
have a inorganic a probably due  
to confusion with Castilian achi  
chanal which has exactly the same  
meaning.

Initial i.

Initial i & ie in iskimble &  
itcuintli, iskite & igquitli.

Initial i & ie in icisale & icisalle  
These three words represent the only

Initial i. The ie in  
& ie in Mexican Spanish is  
developed in abundance with the  
pronunciation of me <sup>234</sup> ie.





Initial o

initial o remains as o: oetl,  
oetle, oetole, oetole, oetole,  
oetole.  
235

Pretories (non initial).

Pretorie a.

Pretorie a remains: oaxil, oaxile,  
oaxile, oaxile, oaxile, oaxile,  
oaxile,  
Pretorie.

Pretorie e remains as e: oetole,  
oetole, oetole, oetole.

Examples: oet in oetle, oetle,  
oet, oetle, oetle; oet in  
oetle, oetle.

Pretorie e.

235. initial o does not occur.







form template was an example of such a contraction and consequently the word was written template.

### Protonic e

Protonic e generally remains as e:

penetrate, penetrate, penetrate, penetrate, penetrate, penetrate, penetrate.

e in the combination ea has usually become i due to the nature of the position: conceal, separate, coat, reach.

This is in harmony with the development of ea from e.

a in ea is a.

In machinist & machinist the a is not satisfactorily explained.



Syllabic u.

Syllabic u regularly becomes u: muu  
utt, uttaxutt, muuutt, muu-  
utt.

Lip-syllables

The syllabic disyllables ua, ue, ui  
 have the same treatment as u.  
ua, that is, they become wa,  
we, wi when initial though, ua  
 (u) or when preceded by a vowel  
 (u); they become ua, ue, ui when  
 preceded by a consonant.

ua: ahuacuttli & wakuttli  
nauuttuttli, nauuttli  
auacuttli, auacuttli

ue: mattuttuttli & mattuttli  
ahuacuttli & auacuttli

ui: ahuacuttli & auacuttli





mitote & witote

quakaccen & quakakcē

The triplication wa is reduced to  
to wa & wa in strictly popular  
words:

quaquealeo & quakakaleo, wakakko  
quaquealli & quakali & wakak  
quaqueamille & quakamile, wakamile<sup>238</sup>

### Personics

With one exception of jeama and je  
cara, all words of national origin are  
accounted in the penult or in the penult

to wa has been explained under the  
treatment of je & je 110. of p. 135.



the word ends in a consonant except n, and in the penultimate when the word ends in a vowel or n. Hence with the two exceptions mentioned above, all posttonic vowels must be final except in words ending in n, therefore posttonics will be treated under the sub-  
type n.

### Final vowels<sup>239</sup>

Open a  
Close e i o u  
can pronunciation, apexi heas api  
saka, chacalaca Caataloka, etc.

---

239 i and u do not occur as final in  
Nahuatl words. See the 1<sup>st</sup> of p. 199



in initial & medial we have an  
organic & added to make the  
word feminine in form since it  
means a meaning to form  
ish, paloma.

Final e generally occurs & that is  
it has the sound of Castilian final  
e: chichi & ciñe, muni, mole,  
gallina, chiste <sup>241</sup>

Final e occurs in gallina & chiste  
& e takes place in the above  
final languages of Spanish <sup>240</sup> but  
is a natural wearing away to the  
neutral sound.

Final e

Final e occurs only in a single  
word, agua - remains as e.

---

240. See de Ring. II, p. 52

241. For treatment of e - see Ref. p. 104-105



guauhealeo 7 waxaxke.

iv uue + u

The combination of so houe + u occurs only in the endings are and in. In these two cases the u u falls and ou ou undergoes the same development as original ou ou ou ou.

- ou + a: chian, la, toisigou,  
kailega.

ie + i + e:

totini, totti, tule

maxin, maxi, waxe

laquaxin, laquati, laquacé





# Consonants

## Labials

There is only one pure labial consonant in Nahuatl; namely p.<sup>292</sup> This p occurs as initial, medial, and in the unstressed syllable.

It is a voiceless sound, and is the least labial pronounced.

Initial p:

pasochra, pasočō, pillacalli, pita  
ka, pellak, petate.

Medial p:

izabok, pasok, tosook, copok.  
chasoboll, copepok.

Combinations with p:

mp: chinampa, cinampa, tonpa, copa.



ep: enipocelli i čipetke

kp: tepan i tek, etc., čipine i čipet,  
machmoppei i mačmupji.

### Dental

#### Pronunciation

The dental signs in Nahuatl are  
t, c, n, <sup>l</sup>f, <sup>3</sup>g, etc.

---

242. There seems to have been a v conso-  
nant in the former language of the  
women; cf. the following statement of  
Molina: "Los varones no usan de v  
consonante, aunque las muáeres mexi-  
canas solamente la usan. Tassi dicen  
ellos uueche. . . que es quatro síla-  
bas y ellas dicen ueche en sola dos  
sílabas." Mss. Noe., IV, p. 12.

243. tl and sl are wanting in Nahuatl



t has the pronunciation of Castilian t.

C has, and z: Mendoza me speaking

La c suave, que se pronuncia casi igual á la s, un poco mas silbada, pasando la lengua en el nacimiento de las dientes, lo que ha

de que no debe desviarse la s del mexicano." 245

Spoken of by the same author adds: "La z que poco se parece á la castellana, pero

s, que es el que generalmente se da á la c suave y á la

see 'Hond. Hoq.', p. 25.

245 Palat. Mex., p. 9.



2.

The form "et e" did not differ in pronunciation from the Spanish of Mexico, and bearing in mind Mendez's statement that the "e suave" of the Nahuatl is "en preo mas se rada", we may easily say that e and u represented an e somewhat more aspirated than the Castilian e.

3.

~~For~~ as a simple consonant. Molina<sup>(1576)</sup> na<sub>1</sub> says er is equivalent to Nahuatl Tsade<sup>(1547)</sup>; <sup>(1553)</sup> Tsade Tertina makes the same statement, adding however the

---

246 <sup>12</sup> Proc. 1887, p. 6.

247 - Mus. Mex., 12, p. 125





following description of the sound:  
"En todo se pronuncia cuando es  
duento y diferenciando por ellos la  
fuerza formando un ligero silbo en  
violencia." 248 Mendoza remarks: "y  
que se pronuncia encorvando la  
lengua y pegándola en medio del pala-  
to." 249

The latter description is the only one  
that mentions the palatal element  
characteristic of the Mexican dialect.  
By a combination of the two descrip-  
tions given above, we can form a  
better idea of the sound. The  
tongue is curved upwards toward  
the hard palate and it is the

---

248. Mus. Mex., III. Appendix, p. 7.

249. Palat. Mex., p. 9.



root of a tongue which presses against  
the back of the teeth (instead of the  
tip as in the Castilian g).

2. ~~The sign x~~ ~~was used in the~~  
the in the Castilian of the sixteenth  
century (till 1512), was g. Consequently  
the sign x was used by the early  
grammarians in order to transcribe  
the g-sound which was found  
in Nahuatl. Now, since this g-  
sound was common to both lan-  
guages, none of the early gram-  
marians call especial attention to  
it, and the first mention of it  
must be sought in the period when  
Castilian x had passed from g to  
x, and hence had ceased to re-  
present the same Nahuatl sound.

To give further to the reader the



1152) makes the following remark  
concerning the X: "La X, c' sigasce ro  
ca: c' consonante, sempre "halla-  
scorta en direccion mexicana, se pre

Castellano y el Sature: hallase en  
primeras, medial y ultimas silabas.

Después de haber  
teniendo algo excitados los dientes  
en elocar á ellos la lengua y con-  
tandola toda en lo inferior  
voca, con abie los los labios. 1150

---

## Initials

Initial X remains with the Castilian  
pronunciation: lamalle, lamal, le  
celote, uxelote, uzente, uxente.

---



initial t & p in pitte & rem,  
 due to a confusion of the  
 signs pit and tit.

Initial ch and z

Initial ch and z remain as s: con-  
ceat & unkeat, conzont & sonzont,  
caeat & sakate.

Initial ty

Initial t occurs only before the vowels  
i, o, and a

ti, ci tipicayti, ciicicayti,  
tilcayti & tilakayti  
tiel & ciel

ty & ty tyabell & tyopell

tyacell & tyakate

tyopitell & tyopitell

tyonabell & tyonabell

The reason for these two developments  
 is evident. Before i the ty is





... tongue is raised in articulation  
of the high vowel position hence by  
u: before a.o. however, the point  
of the tongue is low hence the  
is reduced to vowel u.

There are however two exceptions  
found in 'vocabulary' of the song,  
namely, hohoodle, cecekel, and  
hohoodle, cecekel.  
No explanation for cecekel; for  
cecekel meaning 'sings as if  
very much'.

### Initial x

The original value of this letter  
was s, and this pronunciation  
was still the case in the early  
years of the 20th century.

1. hohoodle ...



teenth century. Since  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$  underwent  
the same development as  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$  of  
Latin origin, that is, it became  
 $\text{\textcircled{X}}$  within 'in words of natural  
origin':

$\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   
xitolle , Sitolle , vitole  
xitolle , Sitolle & xitolle

## II. Specials

### Medial t

Medial t occurs in only one na-  
tural word that has remained in  
Sanskrit, and here t has been  
preserved with the variation pro-  
nunciation: toṭṭhokṭh & toṭṭh.<sup>252</sup>

### Medial ce (see) and ze

These two signs have the same root

252. of Sanskrit 'Hokṭh' in Mon. Hae, III. 52.



ment as unim as initial; that is,  
they remain as the voiceless schilant  
s: amuzoll, awusokē, ocoll, oc-  
icē, ipacoll, ipacokē.

Medial tz

when initial.

tz + i, ē: ajitizimikē, itizim.

clagutzim, klakwācē

tzitziacpē, čičikaskē

motzinucpa, mačinkwēpa

tz + o & so: <sup>253</sup>quahitzontlē, wauwōkē

tzontlē, tzōwōkē

Exception, tzōtzōcōllē, čōčōkē.

Mendoza in treating the phonetic  
changes in words of Nahuatl ori-  
gin makes no general statement.

---

253- tzā does not occur as medial.



Then follows this statement: "Se ya  
desaparecido casi por completo para

ciada sino como s; algunas veces en  
los diminutivos se cambia en c como  
en mexicaltzipu que se escribe  
y pronuncia mexicaltzipu.<sup>254</sup>

From the present state of our  
knowledge the statement of Men-  
doza must be greatly modified  
since it has been shown that  
the l is not the l of the

Medial x

Medial x is the x of the  
Medial x, 254, 255, 256, 257.

taxiti & taxite, exoti & exite  
tepehuaxin & tepehuaxe.









151

Combinations with x

x occurs only in the combination xk,  
and has passed through the sixteenth  
century pronunciation ʃ, ʃ.

tlaxcalotl > kaskalote, mexcalli,  
mexkal, tequisquill, tekeskite.

### Palatais

Re-citation

The Nahuatl language has only  
the voiceless palatals k, ch and the  
voiced y.

x equals the Castilian voiceless  
stop c (ca, ce) and qu (ca, ce) and is  
so written in Nahuatl.<sup>257</sup>

ch has the value of Castilian ch.

---

257- 'Nont. Geog.', p. 23



but in Nahuatl it may occur as  
final or in consonantal combina-  
tions as well as initial or medial  
if equal. Castilian y.<sup>259</sup>

+ Initials

Initials of some Nahuatl words  
as k: keemil, kakemil, capil,  
kaxil, quinilli, kemil, quill,  
kicil.

Latinalized forms:

cu<sup>260</sup> remains as kui: cuico & kuike,  
cuillacochi & kuiillacochi.

qua<sup>261</sup> becomes qua which later gives  
wa:

---

258 - Mus. Nac., III. Appendix, i. i.

259 Nomb. Prop., p. 35

260 Initial cu does not occur.

261 Initial qua does not occur.



quauhcalli, quakol, wakol  
quauheanelli, quakamete, wakamete  
quauhtlalli, quauhtli, quauhtli  
The first stage in this development  
is the raising of k before ua,  
hence kua, qud. This is exactly  
the same change that took place  
in Latin medial g before a, cf. agua,  
agua.<sup>262</sup> The further reduction of  
qua to wa is the same as that  
noted for words of Romance origin,  
i. e. sea, sea, agua, wa, guarda, una  
da.<sup>263</sup>

In the Nahuatl Spanish of the sixteenth century, quaxaceno & quauhua

262 Note however that Latin medial g remains in Castilian as agua.

263- cf. p. 110









## II Medials

medial c (ç) and g (ç) remain  
as k: <sup>263</sup> acçoll & akçete, cuillacçes,  
kuillacçes, chiquimill, çikivete.

Medial y

medial y remains: ayail & ayate,  
coyoll, koçete, neçayoll, nexayete.

medial ch

medial ch remains as ç: chiquimill,  
chicçes, chicçes, chicçes.

## III Finals

finals as ç - ç - ç

Caribbean and Mexican Spanish, as  
the means of avoiding such ends  
as occur in Spanish are two:  
either by dropping the final conson-  
ant or by adding a glide ç.

Final c (k) generally, ç: chobol-



ēēē, Caputēēē, Huanteēēē, Wate  
mē, Huaxuacē, Waxaka.

In xokēē & xocēē a glide ē is added instead of the ē falling, cf. ēēē & English ēē (chuck)

In Quemaraēē & Quaupnaraēē we must have a folk etymology. Owing to a similarity of sound between the Nahuatl word and two Spanish words (cuerna + vaca), the meaning was changed from "a place surrounded by words" to "cow-horn".

Final ch

Final ch occurs in only one word that has come into Mexican Spanish, and here a glide ē has been developed after the palatals: mapachē & mapachēē.

Mendoza mentions the fact that



a glide i was often developed even  
in Nahuatl, in the case of words  
ending in chi.<sup>206</sup>

#### IV Combinations of consonants.

Combinations with x.

x occurs in the combinations xe, xe,  
xi, xi, xi and in all cases re-  
mains as x:

xe & xi: xacatlaxcalli, saxatlaxcalli  
mexcalli, mexcal

xe & xi in mexcalli, nekamix

xi & xi: miquilli, mexkali  
temazcalli, temastal

xi becomes sa in moxicincasque &  
moxicincas

due to a substitution of -cupa  
for enepque.





čp, kp: čepan, k<sup>h</sup>epan.

Combinations with ch

ch occurs only in the complex  
chtl which becomes skl:

michlapique & misklasikes

~~and so on & so on~~

So since the intermediate stage  
in this development, is different,  
but if we suppose that the  
first change was that of tl to  
xl (xl)<sup>267</sup>, we may have something  
like the following: chtl = čxl, čkl,  
šxl & skl.

~~In fact~~ ~~the change~~ ~~is~~ ~~very~~ ~~early~~

---

267 The change of initial tl to xl took place  
very early and this xl being initial of a  
syllable after a consonant, may well come  
in the same category as initial tl, cf.  
p 192.

---



have a confusion with Castilian

*Terminale* - *terminalli*

a change of *i* to *e* accompanied by

## Liquids

Pronunciation.

The liquids in Nahuatl are *l*, *ll* and *n*. (*r* does not occur).

*l* has the same sound as in Castilian.

*ll* never has the value of Castilian *ll* but according to Mendoza: "sola indica un, pronunciacion en el Senido"

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268 'Nomb. Scog' p. 31.

269 'Palat. Mex' . . .



Molina states that "tl se ha de pronunciar como en el latín de villa".<sup>270</sup>

tl is regarded as a single syllable in Nahuatl, and may occur as initial, medial or final. It is equivalent in sound to the tl in atlantico, if we consider the t and l as belonging to the same syllable, thus Atl-antico.<sup>271</sup>

1 Initial

Initial tl, tl: tlanco, tlako, tlamalli & tlamatz, tlaloni, tlakotl.

The tendency to change tl to el is

270. 'Mus. Nac.', IV, 5. 128.

271. 'Mont. Yerg.', 2. 33. cf. 'Cuadro de fonética', II, p. 1.

272. t and tl do not occur as initials.



is mentioned by Topinard (1883).  
In speaking of the tl he remarks.  
"Este tl se expresará abientos in-  
labios, procurando no equivocarse con  
la e, como los que ignoran este dia-  
lecto dicen clacacelli ~~clacacelli~~ <sup>clacacelli</sup> &  
en lugar de clacacelli, clamanthi"<sup>213</sup>

This change of tl to e is the  
same as that which took place in  
Popular Latin, for words like vetulus,  
vetulus, vecius.<sup>214</sup>

See also tl to e mentioned by Sanchez. tlaxamanilli,  
tlaxamanil, tlaxanco, tlaxanko, tlaxoch-  
illi, tlaxochli.<sup>215</sup>

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213 Mus. Nac., III, 1, 1883, p. 184.

214 Grundriss, I, S. 368, § 28.

215 Mus. Nac., III, S. 1.





## II Medials

under i

medial i remains: oiole, elole, oo  
ion, oiole, ioiole & uxole, pa-  
paiole, paiole.

In ficara & xiéallé the etymology  
is at least doubtful, for besides the  
change i, i to i, and the addition  
of a final a, we must also ac-  
count for the change i, accent.

Medial ii

Medial ii occurs in the term  
infixions -ii and -ii which may  
in treatment, becoming in some  
cases i or i.

-alli & al:

asuahualli & akawal, cemalli, konat,  
ee-salli & ke-sal,  
lamalli, lamal, etc.



The more recent development is reduction of il u l with a change of soffthue i to e. This change takes place in the following words:

teyoo u l kaka, teyoo u l kaka, kaklaskale, icpalle & ekipale

The reason for the fall of the i in the large majority of words of this class is probably due to its frequent use in Spanish in comparison with aie.

The same remarks apply in general to illi, elli, ulli, elli & ul:

mupelli & wepel, mellapelli, mekla, ill, tlaxamanilli, tlaxamanil, quimilli & kinnil, etc.

in ul:

chilli, üle, tonachilli, tōnauüle



-oili & -ole:

atolà, atolē, tlalotli, tlalotē, pē  
notli & pēnotē

-oili & -ole:

xcoyotli, xcoyotē, tzipicotli & tzipicotē.

-ulli & -ole:

camotli & camotē, chamotli & chamotē  
utli & utē, ule & ulē.

Medial tl

Medial tl occurs chiefly in the  
termination -tli which becomes -te:

acocotli, akokotē, ayecotli, ayekotē,  
camotli & kamotē, tempiātlī & tempia  
tē etc.

The explanation of this development is  
as follows: tli was first reduced  
to tl in analogy to the large num-  
ber of words ending in -tl. The  
ending tl regularly becomes -te.



a wearing away of the l to a voiceless ch. chink later becomes the chink <sup>276</sup>  
chink.

In the following words we have the regular Romance development l.

ll ll ll: lamb, lamb, lamb,  
lamb, lamb, lamb, lamb,  
lamb, lamb, lamb, lamb,  
lamb.

medial -ll- occurs in a few words ending in -ll. In these words the first ll is regular, the -te which is dropped from the final -ll:

metall, metall, sellall, sellall, te,  
sellall, te.





In *petaxa* & *petasum*, the *t* is *ti* and  
only to the *t* in *petaxi* since *petax-*  
*ali* is a compound of *petax* +  
*ali*. The forms *petax* and *petaxa*  
are found in the Nicaragua dialect  
of the first half of the sixteenth  
century. 277

in *Pindol*

*Pindol*

It does not seem to occur in  
words, it is added however in the  
following cases: *chichina*, *cicina*,  
*elcinaz*, *kelcin*, *selcinaz*.

These two words are with  
respectively "lostax, chamuscax" and "le-  
cax, paxax" etc. 278 The final *s*

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277 Amer. Jour. Phil., V, p. 12.

278 Sanchez 'Diccionario', 52.







into the neutral order.

In the following words tl, tl:  
cyantl, cyantl, comtl tl tl, comtl tl tl,  
pasutl, yolotl tl, yolotl tl.<sup>280</sup>

A possible explanation of these words  
is that they are in analogy to the  
large number of words ending in  
-tl & -tl.

#### IV Combinations of Consonants

tl generally remains in consonantal  
combinations: chtl tl, ctl tl, chtl  
ptl, tl tl, tl tl,  
xtl tl & xtl tl, tl tl,  
tl

tl & tl in tl tl & tl tl

---

280. Same as 'tl', but only three examples of -tl & -tl

281. cf. p. 195.



tl regularly becomes kl in consonant  
al combinations.

mtl & qtl: mtl mltl, qtl qmtl

čtčumtl, čtčumtl

tšontl, tšontl

qtl & skl: tšontl, tšontl

piztl, piztl

čatimtl, čatimtl

čtl & kl čatl, kakl

čičtl, čičtl

čičpčtl, čičpčtl

The first step in this development is  
the change of tl to kl; thus, čtl, čatl,  
kkl, then by reduction kl & kl.

čtl & skl: čičtl, čičtl

nichtloper, nichtloper





xoconochitli y sokonestle

where also the first step is xl & kl,  
then, the same of each vowel. okl &  
skl.

## Aspirate

Pénafiel in speaking of the h re-  
marks: "en medio de la fin de die-  
cion y principio de dición en los escritores  
de los siglos XVI y XVII, supliendola en  
la de la h en la de la h en la de la h. La  
regla general, al principio de dición  
solo tiene a la h y a la h y a la h y a la h  
hay tres ó cuatro palabras en que  
puede a otra vocal"<sup>283</sup>

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283 'Nomb. Geog.', p. 28.



come into Spanish, h occurs only before ua, ue, ui or as final of a syllable.

### I. Initial

Initial h falls and the following u becomes w: maxu, waxe, newotoll, waxotoll, huipilli, hepil.

### II

h falls and the following u becomes w: acamau, akauak, ahuacatl, awakatl, chiquipuitl, ēkiuitl.<sup>284</sup>

### III. h + consonant.

h regularly falls before a consonant: quauhcalli, wakal, quauh-

---

<sup>284</sup> h does not occur as final.



sa-so, wakatke.

Note: Initial and medial hua is often written qua and so pronounced among the educated classed. This form of writing and speaking is thus a mistake; it is only the ua in guaya, huaya, and huaye, since the ua is pronounced ua for qua (cf. latua qua). The educated suppose that the correct form for every ua is qua; hence for awakole, they say quakole; for waxe, quaxe, etc.

In Nicaragua the hua has become gue in the folk speech. However we have a different phenomenon; since the ua which becomes gua in Mexico, the Nicaragua hua, we by fall of the appo-



at, this re then becomes gü  
 not as busno, usno, cüno of  
 Labial's (p. 65) hence in Meenapra  
hinehne, cüüne. etc. <sup>285</sup>

## Nasals

### I Initials

Initial m and n remain with  
 a Castilian pronunciation.

m: meeak, mekate, mullä, mole,  
man, etc. & man etc.

n: namalle, neest, ne, etc. etc.  
nal, neutli, neikle

### II Medials

Medial m and n remain with the  
 Castilian pronunciation:









must suppose a change of acc. t. in the final syllable, which change of accent would naturally tend to prevent the fall of final re.

Prof. A. M. Eliott has noted the fall of final postvocal re in the Mexican Spanish of the sixteenth century. This fact harmonizes with the general rule established, *see* *previous*.

### Combinations of Consonants.

in unanims in consonantal combinations.

un: pelmana & pelmana

limati & lima

mp: chinampa & cinampa

tempiatl & tempiatl

tempanilli & tempanilli



12. ne and nl are the only combinations  
of ne and nl which occur in the language.

it likl hence nl, nlk.

The n in the combinations nl and nlk is drawn back to the post dental position (ŋ) by influence of the following k.

ne & ŋk: cencoall, senkual  
senkualli, senkual  
"Clapaneo", klapayko

nl & ŋkl: senyontli, senyokle  
iksenyontli, iksenyokle  
senyontli, senyokle

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## Life

I, Charles Carroll Marden, was born in Baltimore, December 21, 1867. My early education was received in this city, and after an attendance of three years at the Baltimore City College, I entered the Johns Hopkins University in 1886 and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June 1889. During the year 1889-90, I was Instructor in French and German in the Norfolk Academy; 1890-91 Instructor in French in the University of Michigan. In September 1891 I was appointed Assistant in French and Spanish in the Johns Hopkins University, which position I





held until January 1893. During the present Academic year I have held a University Scholarship in Romance Languages.

My studies have been French as the 'principal subject, with Spanish and History as first and second subordinate subjects respectively. In pursuing the studies indicated, I have been under the instruction of Professors W. M. Elliott, H. B. Adams, Paul Haupt, Maurice Blomfield and Doctors J. E. Matzke, L. E. Meyer and Christopher Johnson. The summer of 1890 was spent in Paris for the purpose of gaining a practical knowledge of French, and that of 1892 was passed in Mexico City 'collecting material for



the present thesis.

To all those with whom I have  
studied, I shall always feel indebted,  
and to Prof. Elliott in par-  
ticular I wish to express my ap-  
preciation of his kindness and  
consideration, and of the interest  
that he has always manifested  
in my work.

Baltimore, Apr. 14, 1894.

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